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G. A. GRIERSON'S

# LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

## A SUMMARY

By

SIDDHESHWAR VARMA

*

PART I

## HOSHIARPUR

VISHVESHVARANAND INSTITUTE

PUNJAB UNIVERSITY

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प्रधान-संपादकः — विश्वबन्धुः

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G. A. GRIERSON'S

# LINGUISTIC SURVEY OF INDIA

—A SUMMARY—

PART I

पुस्तकालय
98243
गुरुकुल कांगड़ी विश्वविद्यालय

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PANJAB UNIVERSITY

1972

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# भावना

ओं धीधामप्रचेतिन्यै शब्दब्रह्मस्वयम्भुवे।
भगवत्यै सरस्वत्यै भूयोभूयो नमोनमः॥ १॥

ज्ञानविज्ञानजीवन्ती सारिणी भयवारिणी।
शरणं मे परं भूयाद् मति-माता सरस्वती॥ २॥

विद्याम्बुधिः क्व गम्भीरः क्वाऽयं हीनप्लवो जनः।
तरङ्गोत्तोलितस्य स्याः सहाया देवि मे सदा॥ ३॥

तव प्रवाहं प्रततं प्रवेगं शक्तोऽवगाढुं भवति स्वतः कः।
प्रसादये तत् करुणावति त्वां निष्णापयेमां निजहस्तधारम्॥ ४॥

तव प्रसादः खलु देवमातः सौजन्यसौशील्यसुधासुधावैः।
पापप्रमुक्तानथ पुण्ययुक्ताञ् शुद्धान् पवित्रान् निपुणांस्तनोति॥ ५॥

तव प्रभावान्ननु मानवानां तिर्यक्त्वमोक्षो मनुताविकासः।
सद्बुद्धियोगः सुगतेः प्रकाशश्चारित्र्यशुद्धिः सुमतेर्विलासः॥ ६॥

त्वमेव देष्ट्री भवसीह गुर्वी सदेशनानां जगतां गुरूणाम्।
तीर्थङ्कराणां श्रुतिपाठकानां योगेश्वराणां भगवत्पराणाम्॥ ७॥

त्वदेकनिष्ठस्य नु यत्न एषः त्वद्भक्तिरक्तेर्मम विश्वबन्धोः।
संसारसर्वस्वविधानसारे स्यात् प्रीतये ते निगमाऽऽगमेशे॥८॥

त्वदीया प्रेरणा बीजं त्वत्प्रसादः प्रवर्धकः।
पुष्पपत्रनिभं देवि भवेदेतत्तवार्पितम्॥ ९॥

सत्यमात्रावलोकानां सत्यसारं च संगिराम्।
सर्वत्र सर्वदा चैव त्वद्भक्तानां तथार्पितम्॥ १०॥

विश्वबन्धुः
प्रधान-सम्पादकः

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Dedicated

TO

**SARASVATĪ**

**The Divine Spirit of ever-progressive march of the ever-unfathomable and ever-unfordable, eternal stream of knowledge**

**and**

**Her sincere devotees of all times and all climes.**

VISHVA BANDHU
*Gen. Editor*

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# PREFACE

The enormous variety of the languages and their dialects, which are spoken by the teeming millions inhabiting the Indian Sub-continent, has led, during the past two centuries, to an ever-increasing recognition of this area as being a veritable paradise where more and more extensive and deeper and deeper synchronic studies could be instituted, most advantageously, for carrying on investigations into the different main aspects of languages, namely, monosyllabic, agglutinative and inflectional. This recognition was eloquently voiced forth in the form of a special resolution which was adopted by the Congress of Orientalists at its Vienna Session, held in 1886, urging the great need of a thoroughgoing linguistic survey of India being undertaken. This resolution was proposed by Bühler, seconded by Weber and further supported by a number of other eminent Indologists of the day including Barth, Bendall, Cowell, Cust, Grierson, Hoernle, Max Müller, Monier-Williams, Rost, Sayce and Sonart. Twelve years later, the Government of India undertook to have the said survey carried out and put Grierson in charge of the same.

The epoch-making *Linguistic Survey of India*, which Grierson produced, in due course, as a result of the said assignment, could with ample justification be described as having been the rock-foundation of all studies and researches carried on, during the past three quarters of a century, in the vast domain of Indian major languages and their innumerable dialects. By virtue of the short but self-contained discussions made in this book regarding the name, habitat, number of speakers, history, family relationship, literature, bibliography, pronunciation and grammar in respect of, practically, every language and main dialect of the Indian Sub-continent, Grierson has certainly made no "vain boast", in claiming that, "what has been done in it for India has been done for no other country in the world". After the gigantic materials had been collected for the purposes of this book and made ready for being gradually passed through the various stages of organisation and formulation, it was, issued, during the 25 years from 1903 to 1928 in 11 volumes, altogether sub-divided into 19 parts and running to nearly 10,000 pages.

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Urged by the paucity of material on Indian languages in works relating to general linguistics, Dr. Siddheshwar Varma wanted to summarize the whole of Grierson's above-mentioned monumental work, in the first instance, for his personal use and prepared, in a way, the first draft of the present work during the six years from 1955 to 1960. In accordance with the solemn vow, which he had taken since November 3, 1943, to dedicate his entire personally undertaken academic activities to our Vishveshvaranand Vedic Research Institute, he entrusted his said draft to the latter. On going through the same, it was observed that it would be necessary further to work on and elaborate it. Accordingly, during the following eight years from 1960 to 1968 it was actually re-written and elaborated, under his constant guidance, by Dr. S. K. Swami, a member of the VVRI Staff, who worked on it with extreme devotion and assiduity. It took Dr. Varma full 13 months, to wit, from February, 1967 to March, 1968, to prepare his exhaustive General Introduction, wherein, after having patternized and classified the entire data under Phonology, Morphology, and Syntax, he touched upon over 10,000 items as treated, at length, in the *Survey*, and briefiy, in the present *Summary*.

Although, in point of bulk, the present *Summary* is only one-eighth of the *Survey*, it encompasses, in essence, the entire material as given in the latter regarding all the languages, numbering about 250, and their respective main dialects of representative character. Thus, the data as recorded in the *Survey* against each of the entries relating to the name, area, pronunciation, various grammatical categories and syntax in respect of each of the languages, and each of the selected dialects thereof, have been substantially incorporated in it.

All the same, it could not and should not be treated as being, in any way, a substitute for the *Survey*. For, it has strictly and consistently brought under its purview only such data as seemed to represent the barest minimum technical requirement of a serious student of linguistics and excluded therefrom all the maps and all other details, regarding literature, bibliography, written characters and folk-lore specimens as pertaining to each of the languages and dialects concerned. Where, in a few cases, the *Survey* has somehow happened to split up the treatment by entering the data relating to the main language, alongwith, a main dialect of the same, e.g., Bihārī and Māgadhī at one place (Vol. V, Pt. ii, pp. 1-39) and the data relating to the sub-dialects of the latter at another place (Vol. V, Pt. ii, pp. 123-85), the *Summary*

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in all such cases, has restored the filiatory sequence by juxtaposing both the said separated portions of the treatment (*Summary*, pp. 591-97).

Our Institute, in bringing out this *Summary*, has aimed at presenting the vast linguistic materials of the *Survey* in such an exhaustive and consolidated manner that every somewhat already trained student of linguistics should be able to utilize the same, fully and without any difficulty, in pursuing his comparative synchronic studies in Modern Indian Languages.

The main line of research, however, which the Institute has incessantly been pursuing, since 1903, in accordance with scientific principles and on historical lines, has lain in the sphere of Vedic lexicography. In this connection, it has already brought out during the thirty years from 1935 to 1965, a very extensive work of fundamental research, entitled *A Vedic Word-Concordance* in 5 volumes sub-divided into 16 parts, altogether, covering 11,000 pages. It is a universal vocabulary register of over 400 extant Vedic texts, with a commentary, extending to about one-third of its bulk and bearing on various linguistic aspects such as phonology, morphology, syntax, etymology, prosody, and text-criticism in respect of each and every one of the vocables numbering over 1,25,000 as treated in this work.

The Institute is now engaged on compiling, on the rock-foundation of the said *Concordance*, materials for its next two major linguistic projects of : (1) *A Comparative and Critical Dictionary of Vedic Interpretation* and (2) *A Comparative Dictionary of Vedic and Allied Etymology* which, it is expected, might run to 16,000 and 8000 pages, respectively. Working through a continuous process of digging, ever deeper and deeper, in the domain of etymology, the Institute has already built up, during the past three decades or so, a basic corpus of about 1,25,000 words of Sanskrit, Pali-Prakrit and Modern Indian Languages as well as Indo-Iranian and Indo-European languages. It has also drawn up a scheme of bringing out a number of subsidiary etymological glossaries from Sanskrit to other allied languages (Indo-Aryan, Indo-Iranian and Indo-European). The commentative section of the said *Concordance* has indicated the occurrences of about 3000 such Vedic vocables as either could not be dealt with (*anukta*) or were dealt with, incorrectly (*durukta*), by the Three Sages (*Tri-Muni*), namely, Pāṇini, Kātyāyana and Patañjali being the prime progenitors of the Pāṇinian grammatical tradition (*vyākaraṇa-sampradāya*). The project,

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entitled *New Vārttikas to Paṇini's Grammar* (*Paṇinīya-Vyākaraṇe bhinava-vārttikāni*) which, likewise is under pursuance at the Institute, aims at formulating and adding (*upasaṅkhyāna*) new *Vārttikas*, supplemental as well as revisional, to the said tradition (*sampradāya*). Evidently, such an important need of this discipline had not been attended to somehow or other, since 150 B.C., when Patañjali, being the last of the said Three Sages (*Tri-Muni*), is taken to have flourished.

In the field of descriptive linguistics, the Institute has already completed the compilation of *A Dictionary of North-Western Himalayan Dialects* which is scheduled to be issued, shortly. It goes without saying that in the matter of further pursuance by our Institute of its said manifold linguistic projects of synchronic as well as diachronic studies, the present *Summary* should prove to be of the greatest utility by virtue of its being, in a way, an ever-open window through which the vast linguistic materials of the *Survey* could readily be spotted out, picked up and pressed into service as and when needed.

This work has been edited for and passed through the press under the general and technical supervision of Shri Deva Datta Shastri, Shri K. V. Sarma, Shri S. Bhaskaran Nair and Dr. Shyam Lal Dogra. The last mentioned, assisted mainly by Shri Trilochan Singh Bindra and, to some extent, by Dr. Ved Prakash Upadhyaya and Shri Kashmir Chand Ahuja, has also borne the entire burden of final proof checking.

The production of this work has been jointly financed by the V. V. Research Institute Society and the Panjab University. The former has met the cost of the compilation and editing of the materials which have gone into the making of this work and the latter has incurred the expenses of its printing and publication.

VISHVA BANDHU
*Gen. Editor*

*Vishveshvaranand Institute,*
*Sadhu Ashram,*
*Hoshiarpur,*
*National Silver Jubilee Day,*
*August 15, 1972*

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# GENERAL INTRODUCTION

## INTRODUCTORY

1 Grierson's *Linguistic Survey of India* is both an inspiration and a disappointment to the Indian linguistician of the present day. It is an inspiration on the following grounds :

1. It places before the reader the sublime vastness of India's languages, representing every linguistic system, agglutinative, monosyllabic and inflectional. It may remind one of the comprehensiveness of the Nanga Parbat, which, according to the geologist, represents all the strata of geological development in one single compass.

2. To the historian of languages it offers an extensive material for the study of various stages in the development of languages—Indo-Chinese and Tibeto-Burman being particularly suitable fields in this line of study, illustrating the transformation of synthetic into monosyllabic tone languages.

3. It opens vast possibilities for the future historical reconstruction of languages, if the material offered by languages like Borushaski could help us to connect it with the Caucasus languages.[1]

4. It reveals the author's masterly elaboration of bibliographical material for every item having any bearing on the languages of the country.

5. It is an achievement of high order, being a marvel when we think of a work of eleven thousand pages, based virtually on only two texts.

6. It reveals the author's wide imagination and his wonderful patience with texts received from far off people of low grade like shepherds.

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1. *Cf.* Georg Morgenstierne, *Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan*, (1924), pp. 18-19.

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7. In matters concerning linguistic research we cannot help depending upon it from time to time. Cf. the Census of India, 1961, pp. xi-xii : "Almost every new programme of research on any of the Indian languages has to fall back upon informations contained in the Linguistic survey."

8. Besides linguistic items, we could find in the survey interesting material on the various modes of counting in the country, vigesimal or decimal, which have an important bearing on the social history of the country.

2 But this work is disappointing in several respects :

1. The linguistic material received from hundreds of untrained people is often hopeless for scientific purposes, as is amply testified by those who have been using this material.

2. The author's treatment of this material is often a dilettante's approach, which cannot stand the test of linguistics during this afternoon of the twentieth century. Particularly objectionable is his treatment of languages and dialects, being calculated by him to be about 250 and 750, respectively, in the country of his purview. His approach to languages is hyper-analytical, while to dialects it is hyper-synthetic, as the following facts will show :

a. As regards languages, although Grierson realised that Indian languages gradually merge into each other and are not separated by any hard and fast lines,[1] his practical approach led him to designate Lahndā and Pañjābī as different languages, and similarly Hindī, Bihārī and Rājasthānī as diverse languages. Kellog's approach had been more rational, for he did not consider these last three languages to be separate. The complications of the Bihārī verb may have led him to consider Bihārī as a different language, but according to Chatterji "verbal system in Maithilī and Magahī is a late development and that it is absent in Old Maithilī".[2] Why isolated features should ban languages to segregation is a logic hard to follow.

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1. Cf. Grierson, *Linguistic Survey of India* (*LSI*), Introduction, Pt. I, p. viii.

2. Cf. *Origin and development of the Bengali language*, vol. 1, pp. 91-92.

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In connection with this important issue the observations of Bloomfield are important. He says, "Dutch and German actually form only one speech community in the sense that there is no break between local speech forms, but the extreme types are mutually unintelligible".[1]

Barring out these extreme types, languages like Dutch and German have been called as 'sub-languages', as related to each other, and there seems to be no reason why Hindī, Rājasthānī, Bihārī and Pahārī may not be called as 'sub-languages' in relation to one another.

The number of languages, in the counting, is, therefore, much less than Grierson supposed them to be, and has to be reconsidered.

b. As regards dialects, the Central concept underlying this term is local variations in pronunciation, grammar or vocabulary.[2] It is needless to say that the number of such local variations must be enormous and to classify them into dialects would be a fool's paradise. It was on this ground that the great German authority, Schuchardt, African and Caucasus expert, protested against the use of the term 'dialect' during the last century, stating that every word was a dialect, having its own course and its own history. But Schuchardt's protest was neglected until Bloomfield restated Schuchardt's view under a different garb.[3] Bloomfield speaks of a 'bundle of isoglosses' as the basis of linguistic qualification, and it is in view of this that he speaks of 'local dialect' which differs from place to place.[4] The local dialects, he says, "are of paramount importance to the linguist because the origin and history of the standard speech can be understood only in the light of the local dialects." Even eightyfive years earlier, Sir Richard Temple wrote :[5] "The division of the dialects into two or four is incorrect, for instance in each division any big village in the hills is nearly sure to have

1. Cf. *Language*, p. 45.
2. Cf. F. Bodmer, *The loom of language*, (London, 1944), p. 222.
3. Cf. *Language*, p. 342.
4. Cf. ib., p. 50-51.
5. Cf. *Panjab notes and queries*, (1883).

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one of its own.....what is wanted is, not only the boundaries of any particular dialects but the features which cause it to be considered such." 'The features' developed into the 'isogloss' concept 50 years subsequently. As a practical example of a substitute for dialectical approach, a Survey of English usage, undertaken by E. B. Atwood, in the United States may be mentioned.[1] Grierson, therefore, underestimated the number of linguistic variations, their permutations and combinations, and the courses they may take.

## PRECURSORS OF GRIERSON

3 There is no doubt that the magnitude of this Linguistic survey has no antecedent parallel in similar surveys of the languages of the world. About 1735 a Jesuit missionary had started a survey of the languages of South America.[2] In 1806 T. C. Adelung published 'Mithridates : oder allgemeine Sprachenkunde' being a general conspectus of the languages of the world.[3] In 1878 Wenker prepared a linguistic 'Atlas of the Rhine province.'[4] In India the first attempt at a linguistic survey was made by W. Carey in 1816, where he brought to light 33 Indian languages.

The Government of India began to consider the linguistic survey of India in 1894, starting with preliminary details.

## LANGUAGE FAMILIES IN THE LSI

The following language families have been handled in the survey :

4 1. *Mōn-Khmēr*

Though the languages of this family are spoken in further India, the home of one important member, Khassi, is in Assam. There is a remarkable resemblance between the vocabularies of Mōn-Khmēr and Muṇḍā, but their structures differ. It is, therefore, assumed

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1 Cf. *A survey of verb forms in the Eastern United States*, (1953).

2. Cf. P. W. Schmidt ; *Die Sprach-familien and Sprachen-Kreiseder Erdre*, (1926), p. 29.

3. Cf. ib. p. 31.

4, Cf. F. Wrede, *Deutscher Sprach-atlas*, (1926), Preface, p. 1.

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that there is at the bottom of these languages a common substratum (cf. II. I).

2. *Tai*

The Tai languages belong to the Siamese-Chinese family of the Indo-Chinese forms of speech. These are tone languages and monosyllabic.

3. *Tibeto-Burman*

The Tibeto-Burman family comprises a long series of dialects spoken (a) from Tibet in the north to Burma in the South, and (b) from Baltistan in the West to the Chinese provinces of Ssechuan and Yünnan in East. It includes Tibetan, complex pronominalized and non-pronominalized Himalayan languages, North Assam Group, Bodo, Naga, Kachin, Kuki-Chin, and Burma Groups. In these languages there is no radical difference between noun and verb. Central Tibetan has tones, but in other areas there are no tones.

4. *Muṇḍā*

Though the present location of this group is in Central India, it has been established that an important substratum of Muṇḍā underlies many Tibeto-Burman languages in Himalayan regions.[1] Muṇḍā, as represented by Santālī, has also influenced the structure of the Bihārī verb.

5. *Dravidian*

Dravidian languages are mostly spoken in the South of India, although a relic, as Brāhūī is still spoken in Baluchistan. Recent discoveries have brought to light a large Dravidian element in the vocabulary and grammatical structure of Indo-Aryan languages. According to Chatterji[1] place names of non-Aryan origin all over Northern India suggest Dravidian, Austric as well as Sino-Tibetan elements. The Dravidian element is the most important of the non-Aryan factors of Indo-Aryan.

6. *Indo-Aryan*

Grierson's division of New Indo-Aryan into 'Inner Circle' and

1. Also, cf. Chatterji, *Proceedings of the 17th All-India Oriental Conference*, (1953).

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'Outer Circle' is on the whole quite neat and significant. The 'Inner Circle' comprising Hindī, Pañjābī, Rājasthānī, Pahāṛī, and Gujarātī is of analytical nature, while the 'Outer Circle' which comprises languages of the Eastern Group, those of North-West and Marāṭhī has synthetic structure. The languages of the 'Inner Circle' tend to continue more or less the vowel system of Old Indo-Aryan. Languages of the North-West, however, tend to discard the aspiration of voiced aspirates, while some of them, as Kāshmīrī, have developed a very refined vowel system.

## LANGUAGES OF THE INNER CIRCLE

5 *a.* Topmost among the languages of the 'Inner Circle' is Western Hindī. Its most important dialect, Hindustānī, is understood over the whole of Indian Peninsula. One of the reasons of its wide intelligibility is the simplicity of its grammatical structure. Its literary forms, Hindī and Urdū are being used by millions of people.

*b.* Braj Bhākhā is more typical Western Hindī than is literary Hindustānī and is also more archaic.

*c.* Pañjābī, though pertaining to the 'Inner Circle' is a composite language. Its substratum is a language of the 'Outer Circle' akin to modern Lahndā, while its superstructure is a dialect of Western Hindī.

*d.* Rājasthānī is differentiated from Western Hindī on the one hand and from Gujarātī on the other. It differs much more from Western Hindī and from Gujarātī. In the inflections of nouns it agrees with Gujarātī and differs from Hindī. In personal pronouns it has taken an entirely independent course.

## LANGUAGES OF OUTER CIRCLE

6 Languages of the Outer Circle comprise the following :

(*a*) **Eastern group.** This group comprises Assamese, Bengali, Oṛiyā and Bihārī.

1. Bengali is more structurally developed than the languages of Hindustan proper. Postpositions have become simple terminations. Participles have been simply disguised by personal suffixes. Gender is unknown. Number is hardly observed at all in the case of nouns, but in pronouns plural is used even for the singular.

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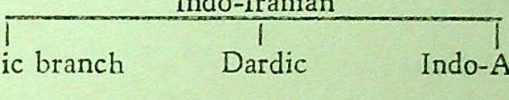
2. Oṛiyā has the same weak sense of number as in Bengali. Plural has to be signified with the aid of some noun of multitude.

3. Bihari comprises of three languages, namely Maithilī, Magahī and Bhojpurī. In the first two languages the verb has many complications. Thus in Maithilī, the verb varies with the status both of the subject and the object. Bhojpurī has many affinities with the languages of the 'Inner Circle' and some linguisticians take objection to its being tagged with Bihari or the Eastern Group of Indo-Aryan.

(*b*) **North-West group**. This group consists of Sindhī, Lahndā and Dardic.

Grierson[1] traces the Dard Group to a 'branch of Proto-Eranian Language' on the ground that Dardic languages do not possess all the characteristics, either of Indo-Aryan or of Iranian. Chatterji accepts this theory[2] connecting Dardic in the following manner :




7 Now it is undeniable that Dardic does show some affinities with Iranian, e.g. voiced aspirates of Indo-Aryan are unknown to Kāshmīrī, just as to Iranian. But the question arises, is this feature adequate enough to compel us to conclude that Dardic is basically different from OIA ? According to Jules Bloch,[3] "Dard is a direct descendant of Old Indo-Aryan, showing no contact with MIA". Moreover, the recent researches of Georg Morgenstierne tell a different tale. He says[4], "I do not think that the Dard languages, apart from Kāfirī possess any Iranian features. Their loss of aspirates is of comparatively recent date."

8 This point is an eye-opener, for his researches have discovered the maintenance of aspiration with voiced stops even in the present Dardic language Pashai. Consequently we need not go back to pre-historic periods for this phenomenon. Continues

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1. Cf. *LSI*, I. i. 108.
2. Cf. *Origin and development of the Bengali language*, vol. I, p. 33.
3. Cf. *L'Indo-Aryan*, p. 51.
4. Cf. *Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan*, (1924), p. 70.

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Morgenstierne in this connection, "The majority of the Dard languages are not distinguished from the other Indian languages by any ancient traits."

9 Kāfirī, however, does indicate some older contacts, nay, Jules Bloch has pointed out that the Kāfirī dialect Kati shows features even prior to Indo-Iranian, for it has a plosive consonant where Persian and Sanskrit have a fricative, cf. Kati word for 'ten' *duc* and for vacant *cuī*, Sanskrit *śūnya*.

## VOWELS

### 10 Complexity of vowels

The simplicity of vowels may be more or less true regarding Indo-Aryan languages of the 'Inner Circle,' but it becomes an illusion when we take into account Indo-Aryan languages of the 'Outer Circle' and Tibeto-Burman languages, as the following data will show :

1. *In Indo-Aryan* :

(*a*) In Assamese there are two types of vowels corresponding to cardinal vowel ɔ. One is *a* as in English 'law' and the other one is *ă* as in English 'cot'.[1]

(*b*) In Sindhī the vowel system has evolved glides in the form of glottal constriction between two peaks of the same phoneme U or I, as in *hu?us* 'I was' *əsīi*, 'eightieth'.[2]

(*c*) In Sylhettiā the vowel *a* is sometimes pronounced as in 'bali' and is then transliterated *á*, most noticeable before a liquid. (cf. V. i. 224).

(*d*) In Maithilī the pronunciation of *a* is something between that of the *a* in 'America' and that of 'o' in 'hot'. (cf. V. ii. 21).

(*e*) The long drawled *â* is especially common in Bhojpurī. (cf. V. ii. 48).

---

1. Cf. B. Kakati, *Assamese, its formation and development*, (1941) p. 87-88.
2. Cf. L. Khubchandani, *The phonology and morphophonemics of Sindhi*, p. 26.

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(*f*) In Kumauni an advanced variety of *a*, symbolised as *à* by Grierson has been recorded, as *kàthi*, 'story', *pàni* 'water'. (cf. IX. iv. 113).

(*g*) Kāshmīrī possesses a number of broken vowels made by epenthesis. They are :

*ü*, *ü*, *a̤*, *e̤*, *o̤*, *ö*. (cf. VIII. ii. 268).

(*h*) In Kiũṭhaḷi and probably elsewhere, the diphthong *ai*, is pronounced like a prolonged German *ä*, when originally followed by *i*. (cf. IX. iv, 376).

2. *In Tibeto-Burman* :

(*a*) In the central dialect of Tibetan *a* is pronounced as *ä*, *o* as *ö* and *u* becomes *ü*, when followed by word final *d*, *n*, *s*, *l*. (cf. III. i. 73).

(*b*) In Lepcha or Róng *a* is said to have a prolonged and guttural sound. (cf. III. i. 235).

(*c*) In Kanāwāri the sound of *ü* in *pü*, 'four' is said to be something between the Latin *u* or *oe* (cf. III. i. 431).

(*d*) Miri-Dafla *â* is pronounced as in English 'all'. (cf. III. i. 586)

(*e*) In Siyin a kind of *ö* lying between *ō* and *ŏ* occurs. (cf. III. iii. 73).

3. *In Muṇḍā* :

(*a*) In Santālī a set of neutral vowels *a̤*, *e̤*, *i̤*, *o̤*, *ṳ* occur. The neutral *a̤* has a deep guttural sound. These vowels are always due to the influence of an *i* or *u* in the preceding or following syllable. (cf. IV. 36).

4. *In Iranian* :

In Wakhī, the vowel *å* represents the Central Asian broad sound, resembling the *aw* in 'pawn'. The vowel *à* is pronounced as in Italian farà.



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## 11 Qualitative correlates

Each region in the country shows qualitative correlates to some other vowel in neighbouring region, as the following instances will show :

1. To Hindī *a* corresponds Assamese *o* Bengali and Oṛiyā ɔ. (cf. V. i. 6) Western Bengalı has even broader pronunciation of this ɔ than the Standard Bengali. (cf. V. i. 70)

2. In the Rajbangśi dialect of Bengali ŏ is said to occur for Hindi *a*.

3. In Bihārī, this ɔ pronunciation still occurs in Maithilī. (cf. V. ii. 2).

4. The Siripuriā dialect has the correlated *u* to this *a*. (cf. V. i. 139).

5. The Bhili of Ali Rajpur has ŏ to this *a* as *ghŏr*, 'house'.

6. In Mārwāṛī, in oblique plural, the ɔ pronunciation of *a* has been recorded.

7. In Magahī, *a* in the last syllable of 2nd person of a verb is pronounced as ɔ.

8. The Paharī dialect Kiūṭhaḷi, spoken in Simla, has ɔ for *a*.

9. In the Bhīlī of Dhar *a* and *e* interchange with each other, thus for 'is' *ha* and *he* are variants in the dialect.

10. *i* appears as a correlate to *a* in Eastern Rajasthānī, as *piṇḍat* for *paṇḍıt*.

11. In Sukētī dialect there is a tendency to pronounce ē as ī and ā as o.

## 12 Quantity of vowels

Broadly speaking three grades of vowel quantity are met with in the languages of India, viz. long, short and very short. Some languages possess all the three grades, while others have two and still others make no distinction of vowel quantity. While in Telugu, the quantity even of short final vowel is determinate, being half the length of the final vowel, in Dravidian Kaikaḍi

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the quantity is not significant, one could say *vandu*, 'came' or *vāndu*. Similarly, in Santālī all vowels can be long or short. On the other hand, there are three grades in the quantity of Kāshmīrī vowels. (cf. VIII. ii. 259). In Tibetan the vowels are, broadly speaking, short, (cf. III. i. 22) but in Balti, a dialect of Tibetan, the quantity of vowels is measured by the openness or closeness of the syllable; vowels of open syllables being long, those of closed syllables being short. (cf. III. i. 34). In Naipālī the quantity of final vowels varies freely. (cf. IX. iv. 21).

## 13 Syllabication and the Indian vowel-systems

The syllabication of any vowel-system is one of the premier controlling principles of that system. Grierson noticed it in several instances, e.g. in Maithilī he has set up an "Antepenultimate Principle of Syllabication, (cf. V. ii. 24) as in *n ă ĭ ā*, 'a barber', the long form of *nāū*, the shortening of *ă* being an antepenultimate syllable, follows this principle. The quantity of vowels, as determined by the openness or closeness of a syllable in Tibetan Balti has been already mentioned above. Syllabic syncopation occurs in Berar Marāṭhī, where we have *ō* for *ava*, (cf. VII. 219). Vowels pronounced with a 'drawl,' leading to a complex peak have been noticed, but in Chōdhri dialect leading to a doubling of the vowel with insertion of *h* has been illustrated by *hāruh*, 'for the sake of'. (cf. IX. iii. 112). This is a case of syllabic extension.

14 Syllabic adjustment occurs in Western Mārwāṛī, being influenced by Sindhī, as all Sindhī words end in vowels, as *tīna*, 'three', where the preceding syllable has a long quantity, but not in *kan*, 'ear'. (cf. IX. ii. 109)

15 Epenthesis is an important instance of the dynamics of syllabication. Grierson illustrates Kumauni *roṭo*, 'cake', but plural *rwàṭa*. (cf. IX. iv. 113). Here the occurrence of *w* in the first syllable is an example of forceful entry of the final *o* in the first syllable, leading to a subsequent evolution of *w* after the elision of the final *o*. Bloch[1] has noticed this epenthesis in Ashokan inscriptions in *samacaram* cf. Pali *ācera-* < *ācārya*. Similarly cf.

1. Cf. L' indo-Aryap p. 36.

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Gujurī *kihō*<*kahiō*, 'to say', (cf. IX. iv. 953) and Bhadrawāhī *hāthī*, 'an elephant', oblique *haithē*. (cf. IX. iv. 882).

## 16 Vowels in final position

Very closely allied to syllabication is the final position of a sound, for it will indicate the accentual trends of the language concerned. According to Grierson, "a Sindhī word must end in a vowel, as in Kāshmīrī."[1] (cf. VIII. i. 8). Similarly in the Koṅkaṇī of Karwar no words can end in a consonant. (cf. VII. 188). In Aō, a Tibetan dialect the most usual final sound is either a vowel, a nasal, or *r*. (cf. III. ii. 271).

17 According to Jules Bloch[2] Pañjābī rustic "language consciously maintains the final vowel. Cf. Chatterji,[3] "All I. A. vernaculars at some time or the other retained the final vowels."

18 On the other hand, all final vowels are dropped in the following dialects: Pāḍar (Pahāṛī), (cf. IX. iv. 904), Dänjongkä of Sikkim (cf. III. i. 119), and Lhoke (cf. III. i. 130), Tibetan dialects, and in the Khasparjiā dialect of Kumauni as *chyal*, 'son'<*chelo*. (cf. IX. iv. 180). In Mālwāi, a dialect of Pañjābī, there is a tendency to end those words in *u* which in corresponding languages end in a consonant, as *mālu* 'property', *dudhu* 'milk'. (cf. IX. i. 711).

19 In Kanaujī, there is a tendency to end those words in *i*, which in corresponding languages end in a consonant, as *dēti*, 'gives'. (cf. IX. i. 82).

### CONSONANTS

20 Grierson's data on Indian consonants show a much more impressive diversity than in the case of vowels. The trends of this diversity lie in the manner of production and the staggering incidents of distributional variations, so that phenomena like cerebralization and aspiration bring to us an infinity of consonantal shades in the languages of India. We shall place below the characteristic features of this consonantism :

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1. Cf. above, No. 14.
2. L'indo-Aryan, p. 42.
3. Origin and development of the Bengali language, vol. I, p, 180.

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## 1. *Cerebralization*

21 We shall first take up the phenomena of cerebralization (or retroflexion) the magnitude of which in this country has no parallel among the languages of the world, Norway being the only country besides India in which retroflex sounds are said to occur.[1]

It is desirable to point out, however, that many data of Grierson's cerebralization do not pertain to retroflexion proper. Recent researches have shown that in many environments these so called cerebral sounds prove to be alveolars. Thus in Ambālavī, a dialect spoken in the vernacular Hindustānī area, *r* is the only consonant, which can be definitely called retroflex, as in the word *guṛ* 'molasses'. In the Himalayan language Kumaunī, the retroflex *ṭ* before a back vowel is retroflex, as in *ṭuṭ*. 'broken', but it is alveolar before a front vowel as in *ṭikɔṇ* 'to set foot'. With these reservations, we now proceed to examine Grierson's data.

### (a) *The cerebral consonants*

The cerebral *ḷ* is a characteristic feature of Dravidian and Marāṭhī. In Marāṭhī (cf. VII. 304) it is always distinguished from the dental ones and from sounds like *r*, while parallels to this *ḷ* occur in Gujarātī, Pañjābī, Sindhī and Rājasthānī. (cf. VII. 10)

22 Commenting on this phenomenon Jules Bloch[2] points out that cerebrals were an ancient Dravidian feature, which must have influenced Vedic pronunciation, for in the Ṛgveda, intervocalic *ḍ* was pronounced as cerebral *ḷ*, Muṇḍā showing no cerebral. But although even now retroflexion is the pre-dominant tendency of Dravidian, Grierson's data show that in certain regions of Lahndā there is a strong tendency for cerebralization, as in Thaḷī (cf. VIII. i. 384), cf. Khetrānī *siḍhā* 'straight', (cf. VIII. i. 372) instead of **siddhā*. Similar is said to be the tendency in Hindko, spoken in Mianwali District (cf. VIII. i. 404). Even Oṛiyā which belongs to the Eastern Indo-Aryan Group shows *ṇ* instead of Bengali *n*. Nay cerebralization has extended even to Iranian areas. Cf. Pashto *paṛda* 'curtain'.[3]

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1. Cf. Principles of the International Phonetic Association, (1949) p. 11.
2. L'indo-Aryan, p. 325.
3. Georg Morgenstierne, Notes on Shighni, p. 4.

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23 But Grierson's data also show that frontier languages, especially of the East have little predilection for cerebralization. Thus the Eastern Group of Indo-Aryan languages (cf. V. i. 6) as represented in Assam, have a preference for *n* instead of *ṇ*. In further frontier languages, the cerebral is virtually discarded. Thus in Assamese (cf. V. i. 400) the 'common people pronounce them as dentals', while these cerebrals are 'foreign' to the neighbouring Tibeto-Burman Meithei language. (cf. III. iii. 25). Even in certain dialects of Lahndā, as in Chhibali and Punchi, there is a 'total absence' of the cerebral *ḷ*. (cf. VIII. i. 506). In modern Dardic languages little or no distinction is made between dentals and cerebrals. (cf. VIII. i. 6).

24 (*b*) *The range of cerebralization*

The range of cerebralization, therefore, starts from the Dravidian South, in its most intense forms, and in milder forms proceeds towards the north, extending to Sindhī and certain Lahndā areas to the West, and to Bengal in East, avoiding Assam.

25 (*c*) *The evaluation of cerebralization*

The vastness of the area which Grierson's data indicate about the expansion of cerebralization shows the immensity of the work to be done, if the retroflexion is to be measured distributionally in various environments. We may dream of the preparation of graphs on the diverse shades of retroflexion in graded scale. The evaluated measurement will exactly indicate where the sound is alveolar and where retroflex, and to what degree.

26 2. **Aspiration**

It is not possible to exaggerate the overall importance of the study of aspiration in the languages of India, for historically, the phenomena of aspiration are sign-posts for the migration and contact of tribes in the past, while phonologically, aspiration represents an enormous range of sounds, varying from *x* to *y*.[1]

1. In Russian there is no *h* in the orthography, so that 'Hindi' is written in Russian as *xindi*. The Russian *x* here is a 'unit of reference' or 'phoneme' including the *h* sound which in certain environments is actually pronounced. But the glidal nature of this sound gives so many shades of variation that it is well-nigh-impossible to represent each shade in every phonotactic environment.

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We shall now describe the various trends of aspiration in the languages of India, as could be gathered from Grierson's data :

(*a*) *A prothetic h*

The tendency to prefix a prothetic *h*, as it occurred even in Aśoka's inscriptions is well-known historically, as in Lahndā *hikk*, 'one', (cf. VIII. i. 412) Kāñgṛī and Mandĕālī *hakkhi* 'eye', *handar* 'within'. (cf. IX. IV. 746).

(*b*) *Tibetan initial aspiration*

In Central Tibetan, as represented by the Lahoul-Spiti region, every initial voiced consonant is uttered with a strong aspiration, so much so that the voiced consonant is heard as if it were voiceless. The *raison dêtre* for this phenomenon seems to be accentual.

(*c*) *Transferred aspiration*

A similar phenomenon, in which the accentual importance of initial aspiration was felt by the speaker, is the Pahāṛī tendency of transferring aspiration, as in Pogulī *āht* 'hand' (cf. VIII. ii. 404) or Kumaunī *bhɔt* 'much'.[1] Again, cf. Sirājī (Kāshmīrī) of Ḍōḍā *bṛhā* for *bhṛā*, 'brother'. (cf. VIII. ii 434).

(*d*) *Elision of aspiration*

In the Bhili dialect Mahikantha (cf. IX. iii. 11) there is an interesting conflicting struggle among the speakers ; *h* is either pronounced as *x*, i.e. raised much above mere aspiration, or uttered very faintly and even often dropped. Here we read the behaviour of diametrically opposed tendencies. In Sŏrāchōli dialect (cf. IX. iv. 603) the elision of only initial *h* is common. Similarly, in Sirmaurī Dhārṭhī. (cf. IX. iv. 460) and in the Kiūṭhalī dalect of Simla *h* is frequently dropped. (cf. IX. iv. 560).

In the Vāḍavaḷ dialect of Marāṭhī (cf. VII. 144) *h* is regularly dropped, as in *ath* 'hand'. It is curious that the premier Dravidian language Tamil has been shown to have no aspirates at all. This is presumably due to the absence of aspirates in Tamil orthography.

1. Based on the data available with the present writer.

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(*e*) *Velarized substitute for h*

In the Ahīrī of Kutch a sound sometimes like *x* is substituted for *h*, a velarised pronunciation being substituted for a glottal one, as *xāt* 'seven'. (cf. IX. iii. 63).

(*f*) *Aspiration a substitute for a sibilant*

In the Rājasthānī dialect Sōṇḍwāṛī *h* is substituted for initial *s*. Its speakers call themselves as *Hōṇḍā*, not *sōṇḍiā* (cf. IX. ii. 279). Here also some preceding or succeeding accent may have played some part. Similarly, in the Pattani dialect (cf. IX. ii. 413) *h* is substituted for every *ṣ* or *s*. In Gujarātī, initial *s* is replaced by *h* (cf. IX. ii. 330).

(*g*) *Dravidian intensity of aspiration*

In the Dravidian language Brāhūī, there is an extensive use of aspiration, parallels to which also occur in other Dravidian dialects such as Kurukh (cf. IV. 621).

(*h*) *Tone, an accompaniment of aspiration*

In Spiti, from the tonal point of view, there is said to be a marked difference between low-toned aspiration and high-toned aspiration (cf. III. i. 84), no such difference being noticed in other Tibetan dialects. Tone here seems to be the behaviour of pitch in intonation, so that in Spiti intonation, aspiration is heard with a high tone in some environments, and with a low tone in others. Bloch[1] has shown that in Dardic languages Khowar and Pashai a low-rising tone accompanies aspiration, as in *gó* 'valley' < *ghala-*.

(*i*) *Aspirational phenomena in Kāfiri*

That aspirational phenomena can throw some light on the contact of tribes has been illustrated by aspirational phenomena in Kāfiri,[2] which show an aerly loss of aspiration in this language. Kati *lez*, 'to lick', the *z* of which goes back to Indo-Iranian *žh*, and *žot*, 'panther', the *ž* of which goes back to Indo-Iranian

1. Cf. L'indo-Aryan, p. 29.
2. See G. Morgenstierne's Report, pp. 52-4.

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*jh, indicate that Kāfiri had lost entirely the aspiration in these words. Kāfiri in this respect has gone even further than Iranian, in which some aspirates still exist. The Dardic languages still preserve some aspirates, as in Khowar *him*, 'snow', Indo-Iranian *źhim*. This indicates that the ancient speakers of Kāfiri had separated early from speakers of Dardic.

27 3. **Voiced aspirates**

(*a*) Voiced aspirates are a world-monopoly of Indo-Aryan, no other family of languages in the world indicating this feature. Sampson,[1] mentions a dialect of Asiatic Gypsy, viz. Kurbat, spoken in northern Syria, which has *bhānu* for 'sister', being an Indo-Aryan phenomenon exclusively. Grierson's data show that the real stronghold of these consonants is confined to the area where the languages of the 'Inner Circle' plus Marāṭhī are spoken, the 'Outer' languages showing a more or less aversion to this phenomenon. Thus, Morgenstierne states that in some dialects of the Dardic language as in Pashai, a slight aspiration is heard in the articulation of *dh, bh* of the words *dhūm*, 'smoke' *dhār*, 'hill' *bhūm*, 'earth', while he has noticed the occurrence of voiced aspirates in the Dardic language Phalūṛā.[2] Grierson's data indicate a fluidity in the aspiration of voiced consonants in the Ḍang Bhang dialect of Jaipurī Rājasthānī, where for 'donkey' the word *ghado* is used (cf. IX. i. 353)

(*b*) *Deaspiration in various degrees*

Grierson's data show an enormous range of the contrastive phenomenon of deaspiration in the languages of India. In Tibeto-Burman language Manipuri or Meithei, voiced aspirates are known to be foreign sounds (cf. III .iii. 25) and in Mrū (cf. III. iii. 387) voiced and voiceless aspirates are freely interchanged. Ḍāngi of Jaipur (cf. IX.i. 332) and Mālvī (cf. IX.ii. 54) indicate a tendency to deaspiration. So does Khaṛiā Thār (cf. V. i. 91) a dialect of West Bengali of Burdwan district. Eastern (cf. V. i. 204) has a hatred for aspiration, soft aspirated Bengali consonants are de-aspirated and *h* is also elided. In the Tippera dialect (cf. V. i. 239)

1. Cf. Dialect of the Gypsies of Wales, pp. 3-4.
2. Cf. Notes on Phalūṛā, pp. 9-10.



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even the voiceless consonants have been lost. There occurs a strong tendency of deaspiration in Kumauni (cf. IX. iv. 116) as well as in the Gujuri of Kashmir (cf. IX. iv. 953). The entire discarding by Khetrāṇī (cf. VIII. i. 372) of aspiration may be illustrated by the word *bātrījā*, 'nephew', so does Konkanī, (cf. VII. 169). In unaccented position, the aspiration of the words *bī*, 'also', *muje*, 'to me' in Ambalavi, a dialect of the Vernacular Hindustani of Ambala may be noticed (cf. IX. i. 240). In Kaṣṭawaṛī a dialect of Kāshmīrī, a final aspirated surd rarely occurs (cf. VIII. ii. 342). According to Sampson[1] in certain Asiatic dialects of Gypsy we find *gām*, 'heat' for *gharma*, while others have *ᶜkām* in the same sense.

(c) *Tonal substitutes for aspiration*

In Pañjābī and many other languages, Aryan and non-Aryan, tonal substitutes for aspiration have occurred, which has been discussed under the section on tones.

28 4. **Voiced and Voiceless Consonants**

The contrastive system of voiced and voiceless consonants was one of the leading features of Old and Middle Indo-Aryan. Grierson's collections have shown that the vast majority of Indo-Aryan languages have tenaciously preserved this contrast, inspite of notable exceptions. Thus Grierson has frequently described the 'Paiśacī' tendecy of devoicing consonants prevalent in Dardic languages, a tendency which has radiated even to Pahāṛī languages. Cf. Kumaunī and Gaṛhawālī *garīb*, 'poor', *karīb*, 'near'. The Sirājī of Dodā, a Dardic language, has a *d* which is often heard as *t* (cf. VIII. ii, 434). The Bhil dialects show a voiceless consonant for a parallel voiced one. Brōkpā, a dialect of Dardic Shina, shows a devoicing tendency (cf. VIII. ii. 209).

29 But the Muṇḍā languages show no contrast between voiced and voiceless consonants (cf. IV. 22). In the languages of the Kuki-Chin Group (cf. III. iii. 24) voiced consonants are said to be the result of contact with voiceless consonants in certain environments.

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1. Cf. Notes on Phalūṛā p. 34.

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30 In Dravidian the voiceless : voiced contrast is entirely environmental, being positional, i.e. voiceless in the initial, voiced in the intervocalic position, there being no initial voiced stops in Dravidian (cf. IV. 288). In this connection Kanarese has shown a particular tendency to voice the initial voiceless consonant of the second member of a compound (cf. IV. 370).

## 5. Consonantal Interrelationships

31 *Introductory*

Grierson's data often show some sort of inter-relationship between certain consonants, although the relationship is often obscure and inexplicable. That *l* and *r* are interchangeable in many linguistic systems, need not be pointed out. But interchange is a symptom of confusion which mars all predictability, which is the soul of scientific evaluation. Some of these confusions may be due to dialectical mixtures, others to erroneous analysis and still others to psychological deviations. Such data constitute a huge jungle out of which it is a Herculean task to extract some order.

1. *Palatals and their correlates*

Grierson's data show the bewildering intricacies of palatals in Indian languages. Some of them are related to velar plosives *k*, *kh* as in Gujarātī (cf. IX. ii. 330), and some to *t* as Pahāṛī Paṅgwālī *ch* to *t*, e.g. *jochnā*, 'to yoke' < *jotnā* (cf. IX. iv. 848). It remains to be explored how far *t* and *k* in these languages are original nuclei of the palatals concerned. Also cf. the similar phenomenon in Sirmaurī *t* : *ch* (cf. IX. iv. 479). A *d* : *j* parallel is also noticed in Sirmaurī (cf. IX. iv. 479). Whether a *n* : *ñ* parallel could also be adduced in this connection in the Muṇḍā dialect Māhlē (cf. IV. 75) as *ñindā*, 'night' for *nindā*, is a matter for exploration.

(a) *Correlates Ch/Chh : s/š/x*

The correlate *ch* : *s* occurs in many Indian languages as in Dravidian Telugu, *chinna*, Tamil, *sinna*, 'small'. *s* occurs as a correlate of *ch*, *chh* in colloquial Gujarātī (cf. IX. ii. 330). On the other hand, in Bhīl dialects *ch* plosive tends to be pronounced like *x* in English *loch* (cf. IX. iii. 2), while in the Sāmvēdī dialect of Marāṭhī both *s* and *h* appear as correlates of *ch*

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(cf. VII. 148). The diffusiveness of the plosive further extends also in the Mahikantha dialect (cf. IX. iii. 11), e.g. *sōrũ* 'child', *s* here being a parallel for *chh* ; in Rājasthānī (cf. IX. ii. 4) some of the dialects have *š* both for *ch* and *chh*. In South-East Bengali (cf. V i. 292) *x* or *y* appears as a correlate for *ch*. In Poṭhwārī *chh* often appears (as in the Dogri of Jammu city and its environments) as *š*, (cf. VIII. i. 478) as *achhnā-ashṇā*, 'to come'. In Kāṭhiyāwāḍī *ch* and *chh* appear as *s* before palatal vowels (cf..IX.ii. 425).

(b) *Correlates ch : ts*

In some languages the correlate of *ch* is a composite fricative *ts*: as in Bakerganj dialect of Bengali *tsākar*, 'servant' (cf. V. i. 260); Baghāṭī dialec *tsara*, 'to graze' (cf. IX. iv. 495). Similarly, Gujarātī has *ts* : *ch*, but *tsh* : *chh*. Parsi Gujarātī has *tsh* even for *kh* (cf. IX.ii. 392). While Marāṭhī shows this fricative *ts* only before back vowels (cf. VII. 22). Konkan standard has *ts*, *dz* even before *ē*, as in *dzē* 'who' (cf. VII. 66).

Telugu palatal *ch* appears before front vowels, otherwise its correlate is *dz*.

32 2. *The vibrants ṛ and r*

*Introductory*

As the flapped *ṛ* which is a speciality of Indian languages being otherwise current only in Norway as discussed above starts with some rolling, though culminating in a flap, it also may be termed as a vibrant like *r*.

(a) *ṛ, ṛh as correlates of ḍ, ḍh*

Grierson's data are interesting enough to show that the correlates of *ṛ, ṛh* ; viz. *ḍ, ḍh* are still pronounced in certain regions of vernacular Hindustani (cf. IX, i, 213) which would say *paḍyā* instead of *paṛā* 'fell', and *paḍhyā*, 'read' instead of *paṛhā* in Standard Hindī. These interesting data suggest the possibility of the preservation of a stronger stress-accent in Vernacular Hindustani.

(b) *Absence of ṛ in Kāshmīrī*

Grierson speaks of the absence of *ṛ* in Kāshmīrī (cf. VIII,ii, 259).

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He mentions only the occurrence of *r* in this language. This observation is unfortunate indicating the narrow Kāshmīrī dialectical area which Grierson contacted. It is the common experience of all those who have travelled widely in Kashmir, that *ṛ* is the common pronunciation of rural Kāshmīrī. Nay, more, the present writer, during his personal linguistic tours in Kashmir in 1941, came across Kāshmīrī dialects which used even *ḍ* instead of *ṛ* in the Kāshmīrī word *guḍ* 'horse' besides the generally used *guṛ* in rural Kāshmīrī areas.

(c) *r and ṛ as correlates*

In the Sindhī dialect Lāṛī there is a frequent change of *ṛ* to *r* (cf. VIII.i. 170). Quite opposite is the tendency in Multānī dialect of Lahndā spoken in Mazzafargarh district, where there is a great tendency to cerebralize *r*, as in *parbat*, 'mountain' *chor*, 'thief', *khabār* 'newspaper'.

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(d) *Muṇḍā ṛ : r correlates*

The Kārmālī dialect of Muṇḍā shows *ṛ* against standard *r*, e.g. Kārmālī *hāṛ*, 'man', standard *hār* (cf. IV. 71). This may seem to be a parallel to Kāshmīrī treatment of *ṛ : r* as discussed in para (c) above.

(d) *r preferred to ṛ*

In the Eastern Group of Indo-Aryan languages like Bengali and Assamese, *r* is preferred to *ṛ*. indicating that *ṛ* pertains more to the 'Inner Circle' of Indo-Aryan (cf. V.i. 6).

(e) *ḍ preferred to ṛ*

*ḍ* is preferred to *ṛ* in the Bangru dialect of Karnal and Patiala (cf. IX.i, 253).

(f) *ḍ and r as free variants*

In Dravidian Kāmāṭhī dialect *ḍ* and *r* are free variants (cf. IV. 596).

(g) *r a correlate of l, ḍ and ḍh*

In colloquial North Gujarātī *ḍ*, *ḍh* and *l* generally become *r* (cf. IX.ii. 329). *r* with such a wide range of correlations is very

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exciting indeed. Similarly in Mahikānthā dialect (cf. IX iii. 11) *r* appears for *ḍ* in *khōro*, 'horse', while in Pattani (cf. IX.ii. 413) even *ḍh* leads to *r*.

(*h*) *Medial r*

Quite the opposite is the tendency in many Bhīl dialects, which usually can not stand a medial *r*. Similarly Dardic is fond of dropping *r* between vowels. This occasionally occurs in Lahndā.

(*i*) *r in consonant clusters*

The North-West regions of India love to use *r* in a consonant cluster ; cf. Lahndā, *trakṛī* 'a balance' *trap*, 'to jump'. It is worthwhile investigating whether such a phenomenon may not have been induced by the peculiarities of the plosives concerned.

33 3. *l : r on a distributional basis*

Perhaps the only pattern of *r : l* on a distributional basis occurs in the Tibeto-Burman dialects Limbu (cf. III.i. 284), Kabui (cf. III.ii. 416) and Maring (cf. III.ii. 473). *l* in these dialects occurs after consonants, but *r* after vowels. This is a neat distribution, but only an exhaustive analysis of these phenomena could bring to light the controlling principles which have determined such a systematic pattern.

4. *n as a correlate of l*

In some Indo-Aryan languages *n* corresponds to *l* of other dialects, e.g. in Western Bengali of the Bīrbhūm District, *laxrā* and not *naxrā* 'coquettry' is current. Similarly *lāch* 'a dance' (cf. V.i. 70). So is the case of Bhīlī of Rājpiplā (cf. IX. iii. 84)

5. *ṛ as a correlate of n*

In the Bengali dialect Khaṛia-Thār, *ṛ* stands for *n* in *mũṛish* 'a servant', where the *ṛ* is evidently a dissimilation from *n* owing to two nasals preceding (cf. V.i. 91).

6. *r as a correlate of ṇ*

In North-West Lahndā *r* occurs as a correlate of *ṇ* in the word *kor*, 'who' (cf. VIII.i. 436).

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7. *y as a correlate of ḷ*

Khāndēśī *y* appears as a correlate of *ḷ* in *ḍōya* 'eye'.

8. *v dropped before front vowels*

A curious distributional instance occurs in the Bhīlī dialect Pāradhī (cf. IX.iii. 189), where *v* is dropped before front vowels as *īkh*, 'twenty'.

9. *Correlate b for v in Dardic*

Remarkably against Kāshmīrī, the Dardic languages Tīrāhī, Kōhistānī, Khowar, Kalāṣhā and Ṣhiṇā have *b* for *v*, showing a notable and very interesting converging point with Pahāṛī. Similarly Hindī goes with these Dardic languages as against Pañjābī *v*, which agrees with that of Kāshmīrī, Sindhī and Lahndā (cf. IX.i. 615).

10. *Correlates ś : h*

The *h* of Eastern Bengali clearly corresponds to *ś* of Western Bengali (cf. V.i. 204). In the former, *shibboleth* is pronounced as *hibboleth*.[1]

11. *Correlates kh : y*

In the Tippera dialect of Eastern Bengali, *y* is a correlate of *kh*, a remarkable correspondence (cf. V.i. 239), cf. *zayam dă vēn* for *zakhen dēkhēn* 'see the wounds'.

12. *Correlates kh : s*

As against number 11 above, quite the reverse is the case in Pāradhī in which *kh* stands for *s*, as *paīkho*, 'money'. This phenomenon is worthy of exploration.

13. *Correlates ñ : y in Muṇḍā*

In Muṇḍā, Korwā dialect initial *ñ* is replaced either by *y* or is retained, showing a partial denazalization of the consonant (cf. IV. 150).

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1. For further examples and also for *s : h* correlates see 26 (f) above on Aspiration.

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14. *Correlates p : f*

In the Cachar dialect of Bengali (cf. V.i. 292) an initial *p* is replaced by *f*, indicating a weak initial accent in some period of the dialect.

34 15. *Correlates of consonant clusters*

Consonant clusters are an inevitable feature of human language, both from Historical and General linguistic point of view. Historical linguistics tell us that there have been cycles in the formation of consonant clusters. Thus Wackernagel[1] tells us that the tendency of Sanskrit was to simplify consonant clusters which it had inherited from Indo-Iranian, e.g. Skr. *dehi* 'give' was a simplification of Iranian *dazdi* (as it appears in the Avesta). But inspite of this tendency for simplification, Sanskrit had to form new consonant clusters. Thus, as Prof. Turner[2] has pointed out the trend of Sanskrit for simplification of ancient consonant clusters should have given **būdhi-*, but a new consonant cluster *ddh-* was formed in the word *buddhi-* and allied words.

(*a*) *Preference for certain consonant clusters*

Every dialect is bound to have some consonant clusters but like usage, every dialect has its own peculiar preferences for certain clusters. Thus in the Tibetan dialect Lhoke of Bhutan (cf. III.i. 130), every r+guttural is replaced by y+guttural. On the other hand, Kāshmīrī has had an aversion to the consonant cluster *śm*, so that a word like Kashmir would be an impossible pronunciation in the Kāshmīrī language. Thus the actual word for 'Kashmir' in this language is *kaš̌īr* (cf. VIII.ii. 233). Similarly, Kāshmīrī has had an aversion against the consonant cluster *śp*, so that to Sanskrit *puṣpa-*, 'flower' corresponds the Kāshmīrī word *poš̌* (cf. VIII ii. 246).

(*b*) *Simple correlates of consonant clusters*

(*i*) Morgenstierne[3] has shown that *l* has proved to be a replacement correlate of skr. *gr* in Dardic. Cf. Pashai *lām*

1. Altindische Grammatik I, p. 178
2. Indo-Iranian, présentés a Georg Morgenstierne, (1964), p. 174
3. Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan (1924) p. 83

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'village'; Skr. *grāma-*. In fact the lateral correlate of OIA plosive+r may be taken as a historical fact in Dardo-Pahāṛī languages. Cf. Bhadrawāhī *tš̆hēṭl*, 'a farm', Pashai *pult*, 'son', Bhadrawāhī *ḍhlā*, 'brother'.[1]

(*ii*) *tr* : *c* *in* *Shiṇā*

In Shiṇā of Gilgit the correlate of *tr* is *c*, as in *pūc*, 'son', *cäī*, 'woman' < *strī* (cf. VIII.ii. 153).

(*iii*) *śm* : *p* *in* *Khowar of Chitral*

Khowar *ispa* 'we' with a prothetic *i* reveals *p* as the correlate of *š̆m* (cf. VIII.ii. 136).

(*c*) *New consonant clusters in NIA*

Grierson[2] has shown how the Sanskrit consonant cluster *ñc* has been replaced by new consonant clusters in Dardic. Thus, Kāshmīrī shows a nasal + *ts* in *pāṭs*, 'five'. Grierson's data show that Bhadrawāhī *ḍhl* for *bhr* (as in the word for brother) is induced by *ḍr* in Ladākhi, for *br* is pronounced as *ḍr* in Ladākhi and as *ḍ* in the Lahul dialect (cf. IX. iv. 884).

(*d*) *Consonant clusters in Iranian*

A curious consonant cluster *sḳ* appears a mixture of *kh*, *ṣh* and *r* in the Ōrmuṛī dialect (cf. X. 127)

(*e*) *Maithilī hfb* : *š̆p*

Maithīlī *puhfb* skr. *puš̆pa* forms a notable contrast to Kāshmīrī *pōš̆*. Kāshmīrī, by discarding entirely the plosive element of the Sanskrit correlate, indicates the relic of a much stronger initial accent (cf. V.ii. 21).

(*f*) *The palatal treatment of kṣ in Dardic*

The Dardic correlates of skr. *kṣ* constitute one of the topmost landmarks of Indo-Aryan linguistics, for nothing of this feature

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1. Cf. Georg Morgenstierne. *Report on a linguistic mission to Afghanistan*, (1924), p. 87.
2. *Conjunct consonants in Dardic*, BSOS, p. 353



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was visible in Prakrit as Grierson has pointed out.[1] For 'eye' skr. *akṣi*, cf. Kāfirī kāṭī *aǩī*, kāshmīrī *ạchi*. For skr., *pakṣ-as*, 'feather', Dardic Kalāsha, *paṣh*, 'feather', Shiṇā *paç*, 'fortnight'. This phenomenon further supports the view that Dardic has evolved independently of Prakrit.

(*g*) *The treatment of hv in Dardic*

Traces of Paiśācī devocalization may be noticed in the words for tongue (skr. Jihvā) Kāfirī Waigaḷi *jip*, S. *jīp*.

(*h*) *The treatment of Indo-Iranian xṣ in Tirāhī*

*x* is the correlate in Dardic Tirāhī of Indo-Iranian *xš̌*, as *xe*, 'six' *axt*, 'eight' (cf. I.i. 299).

(*i*) *A tertiary treatment of consonant clusters in NIA*

That the evolution of modern consonant clusters is some where even further going on, is indicated by Pahāṛī, Bhatěāliṇ for *r*+*n*, e.g. *maṇā*, 'I die' < marnā ; *kaṇā*, 'I do' < *karnā*.

35 6. **Positional distribution of consonants**

*Introductory*

The position of a consonant as to whether it could occur in the beginning, interior or end of a word has been a matter of preference in various speech communities. Thus it is a well-known fact that no *s* at the end of a word could occur in Sanskrit, while at the present time, it is more or less known that no unaspirated voiceless consonant can stand at the end of a word in Kāshmīrī. In Tamil, no plosive consonant at the end of a word is permitted. As regards initial consonants, while Sanskrit permitted a copious number of consonant clusters in the initial syllable of a word, Prakrit entirely discarded them. The initial consonant being only voiceless is a common feature of Dravidian (cf. IV. 288). In this connection, certain broad features of positional distribution in Indian languages are being discussed below.

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1. Cf. Grierson, *Conjunct consonants in Dardic*, p. 364-6

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36 (*a*) *Consonants in the initial position*

Initial plosive consonants in Indo-Aryan and several other systems of languages in the country have been maintained. But other classes of consonants have shown considerable fluidity. Cf. the following data :

1. *Fluidity of initial s*

The Dravidian Gōṇḍī of Bastar has *h* for every initial *s* (cf. IV. 528). Similarly Sindhī. Cf. hārũ 'all'.

2. *Correlates of r*

The Gōṇḍī of Bastar has *l* for initial *r* (cf. IV. 528).

3. *ṛ in the initial position*

According to Grierson (cf. IX.iv. 560) Kiũṭhalī is the only Indian language in which *ṛ* occurs in the initial position. But the present writer has come across *ṛ* in the initial position of the word *ṛohā*, 'a rock-like huge stone', in the Western Pahāṛī language Kuḷuī.

4. *Correlates of initial h*

According to Grierson, an initial *h* in Lahndā sounds as a strong guttural sound, as *ain* in Arabic (cf. VIII. 251). Grierson has evidently missed here the high-falling tone which often accompanies initial *h* in certain dialectical areas of Lahndā, as is well known to the present writer, with Lahndā as his mother-tongue.

In this connection Grierson mentions *v* as being a correlate to *h* in the Asurī dialect of Muṇḍā (cf. IV. 137). But such a *v* according to Grierson must be due to the influence of Dravidian, for an initial *v* or *w*, is unknown to Santālī.

5. *Initial v in Iranian dialects*

While Paṣhtō[1] in its word for '20' viz. *šel* has lost the Indo-Iranian *w* the Shēram and Kākaṛ clans of Afghans have still

1. Cf. G. Morgenstierne, *The Wanesṭši dialect of Paṣhtö*, p. 186.

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preserved the *v* or *w*. as could be gathered from their word for 'twenty', viz. *Wšel*.

6. *Correlates of OIA p*

In South-Eastern Bengali an ancient *p* has been replaced by *f* and *h*. This reminds one of the Kanarese *h* a parallel to common Dravidian *p*, as in Kanarese, *hāl* 'milk'. Tamil, *pāl*; Kanarese, *hōgu*, 'I go', Tamil *pōku*.

7. *Tibetan consonantal replacements*

Quite the reverse has been the tendency of certain Tibetan dialects, as in Khams (cf. III. i. 136) in which the initial consonant *gh-* is prefixed to the classical- *arpo* 'angry', which gives *gharpo*.

8. *Initial voiced consonant with aspiration in Tibetan*

As already described in § 26 b, in Lahoul-Spiti region every initial voiced consonant is uttered with a strong aspiration, so much so that the voiced consonant is heard as if it were voiceless.

9. *Voiced initials in Indo-Chinese*

A voiced initial in Indo-Chinese tends to develop a tone due to the preceding existence of an old prefix (cf. III. i. 4).

10. *Initial position in Dravidian*

As already described in § 30 only voiceless stops occur in the initial position in Dravidian, there being no initial voiced stops.

37 (*b*) *Consonants in the medial position*

The position of medial consonants in the various linguistic families has been much more unstable. There is no doubt that both Grierson (cf. IX. i. 615) and Bloch[1] have mentioned the tendency in Pañjābī to double intervocalic consonants, as in Pañjābī *challan* 'to move', but the general trend of all Indian languages has been to reduce the medial consonant in several ways.

1. *Medial vocalization in Tibetan*

In the Tibeto-Burman dialect Aimol, intervocalic consonants

1. Cf. *L'Indo-Aryan*, p 93.

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are vocalized (cf. III. iii. 214). It remains to be explored whether this phenomenon here is exactly parallel to Dravidian or merely sporadic. In the latter case it may be a reduction of the consonant, as being vocalized, it loses part of its intensity, as in Aimol *chāk*, 'to eat' but *chāgā*, 'eating'.

2. *Possible Relic of a strong accent in Powādhī*

Grierson cites Powādhī *amãgā*, 'I will come', Pañjābī *avãga*, Hindi *aũgā* (cf. IX. i. 680). This interesting relic of a strong accent in Powādhī may remind, one of Ḍōgrī *namã*, 'new', Kāshmīrī *njamun*, 'to bow the head', in which the *m* possibly indicates a stronger accent in some period of the language.

3. *Entire elision of medial consonants*

Grierson has cited instances of entire elision of medial consonants in the following :

In the Rājbangśī dialect of Bengali (cf. V. i. 164) medial consonants are often elided. In the Bhalesi Pahāṛī dialect, intervocalic *r* entirely dropped, as in *ghoṛeu* 'of the horse'. Cf. Bhadrawāhī *ghoṛero* (cf IX. iv. 888). In Kachhi, as in Dardic (cf. VIII. i. 185) mediate *r* is dropped. The intervocalic consonants are lost in South Bengali (cf. V. i. 292) as in *ḍaiō* 'call', <*ḍākiō*. In Central-Eastern Rājasthānī medial *h* is dropped, as in *kasũ*, 'I will say' ; so in *Bāgṛī* (cf. IX. ii. 149). In Bundēlī it is constantly elided if medial (cf. IX. i. 91).

4. *Substitution of medial consonants*

According to Grierson, a medial *k* is replaced by *h* in the Bengali dialect of Backerganj (cf. V. i 259) as *ahāl*, 'famine', <*ākāl*. In Balōchī voiceless consonants are intervocally changed to spirants (cf. X. 338). In S. E. Bengali, intervocalic *m* is replaced by nasalization (cf. V. i. 292).

38 (c) *Consonants in the final position*

The reduction or elision of final consonants of a word is a matter of common knowledge. Here only some striking features noticed in the final consonants in the languages of India as could be gathered from Grierson's data, may be pointed out :

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1. *Absence of a final consonant*

In the Koṅkaṇī of Karwar, no word ends in a consonant (cf. VII. 188). This may remind one of Slavonic languages, in which all syllables are open syllables. It is a very exciting phenomenon, due to its unique nature, although it would be impossible to speculate on it under the present circumstances.

2. A little allied to the above phenomenon is met within Khāmī, a Tibeto-Burman dialect in which the final consonants are often silent (cf. III. iii. 349). Similarly, in Tibeto-Burman Manchāṭī consonants are said to be only half pronounced (cf. III. i. 454).

3. *No final non-sonant consonants in Tamil*

In Tamil no final non-sonant i.e. plosive can occur (cf. IV. 310).

4. *Absence of final s in many systems of languages*

In Tibeto-Burman languages Khams (cf. III. i. 136), Gaṛhwāl dialect (cf. III. i. 100), Jaḍ, Nyamkat (cf. III. i 91), and Dängjongkä of Sikkim (cf. III. i. 120) *s* cannot occur as a final consonant. In the last language final *d* is also dropped (cf. III i. 120).

39 **7. 'Checked' Consonants**

1. *Introductory*

A bewildering phenomenon, sometimes, called 'checked' consonants and sometimes 'semi-consonants', frequently accompanied by tones, has been mentioned by Grierson and other writers. Such phenomena have unfortunately been described mostly by untrained people and hitherto it is not possible to give a definite view about the phonetic characteristics of such consonants. Chatterji[1] has cited Tessitori who showed that a full *h* had a glottal catch in Gujarātī. But this has been challenged by P.B. Pandit,[2] who on the evidence of Kymograph tracings has shown that these tracings do not show any glottal closure after the consonant concerned. He explains the phenomenon as a lowering of pitch of the vowel being 'the function of murmur'.

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1. Cf. *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, p. 112.
2. Cf. *Nasalisation, murmur and aitch in Gujarati*, Indian Linguistics, (1957). p. 171.

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The phenomenon of delay has been acknowledged, but no reason has been given why the consonant may not have had some role in the generation of this delay. While describing the glottalized phenomena in new Indo-Aryan, Chatterji[1] states that this glottalized phenomenon occurs in Bengali and Sindhī. The fact is that a comparative and scientific analysis of this phenomenon on a comprehensive scale has not yet been undertaken.

2. *Glottalization in Gujarātī*

Bloch[2] has mentioned the traces of glottalization and deaspiration in Gujarātī *ben>bhaginī*, 'sister'. He has also noticed a similar phenomenon in Lahndā. It may possibly have some connection with 'implosive consonants' which start with a glottal catch in the beginning. The exact evaluation of such a phenomenon is possible only comparatively.

3. *A glottal check with k in Māltō*

With a glottal check occasioning a clicking sound in Dravidian Māltō *k* has been described (cf. IV. 448), while g is said to sound like 'Northumbrian *r* (cf. IV. 448). It is not possible even to follow such descriptions.

4. *Semi-consonants in Kanāwarī*

In Tibetan Kanāwarī, checked semi-consonants similar to those in Muṇḍā are said to occur (cf. III. i. 431). This is a very interesting event, implying the Muṇḍā back ground of a Tibetan language. Similarly, semi-consonants in Muṇḍārī (cf. IV. 84) are said to occur.

5. *Santali semi-consonants*

In Santali *'k*, *'c*, *'t*, *'p* the contact is released before the breath comes out, and so an abrupt sound is produced (cf. IV. 38).

6. *Stress with consonants in Hindkī*

In Hindkī, a dialect of Lahndā, stops are pronounced 'with a certain stress in prolongation' (cf. VIII. i. 335). This stress, accompanying the prolongation may possibly be another aspect of checked consonants.

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1. Cf. *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, p. 105.
2. Cf. *L' indo-Aryan*, p. 60.

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7. *Final consonants with an abrupt tone*

In *vāyū* a minor Khambu dialect old final consonants are said to be pronounced with an abrupt tone (cf. III. i. 382).

8. *Semi-consonants and abrupt tone*

According to Grierson, the semi-consonants in Muṇḍā correspond to the so-called abrupt tone of Indo-Chinese (cf. IV. 22).

## 40 8. Accent in the languages of India

1. *Introductory*

The term 'accent' is being generally avoided in linguistic circles at the present day, as it is in certain contexts whether pitch or stress accent is intended. Accent should here be taken in the sense of 'prominence' being the most prominent syllable in a word the prominence may be due to stress, pitch, quality or of all the three or any two of them combined.

2. *Accent in Indo-Aryan languages*

(*a*) Bengali has generally a dominant initial stress, but only in isolated words while in connected speech words partake of the sentence stress.[1] But in Oṛiyā the accent is on the antepenultimate, though every syllable is uttered on a staccato rythm (cf. V. ii. 378). In inscriptional Oṛiyā,[2] the accent was sensitive enough to reduce the post-accentual syllable, *bāhija* < *bāhya*. In Pahāṛī Manḍeāḷī, accent is on the initial syllable, cf. the strong initials in *haũ*, 'I' *āsse* 'we', *tusse* 'you (cf. IX. iv. 722).

3. *Accent in Iranian*

Paṣḥtō isolated words show initial stress : cf. Paṣḥtō,[3] *ywaž*, 'ear', *ywaša*, 'meat'. But in connected speech Paṣḥtō accent tends towards the succeeding syllables.

In Phalūṛa,[4] in most words, the main stress falls on the first long syllable from the end. This also implies that the trend is

1. S. K. Chatterji, *Indo-Aryan and Hindi*, p. 112-113.
2. S. K. Chatterji, *Origin and development of the Bengali language* vol. 1, p. 107.
3. G. Morgenstierne, Paṣḥtō-etymological Dictionary.
4. G. Morgenstierne *Notes on Phalūṛa*, p. IV.

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towards the initial side of the syllable, though quantity dominates over it.

4. *Accent of Dravidian and Tibeto-Burman*

Initial accent has been a characteristic feature of Dravidian and Tibeto-Burman (cf. III. i. 4).

Dravidian stress is slightly on the initial syllable.[1] But in Kanarese, though the accent rests on the first syllable, a secondary stress falls on the first syllable of compound words (cf. IV. 371).

5. *Stress indications of Bhadaurī*

In Bhadaurī, a sub-dialect of Bundēlī, a medial doubling as in *bassan* 'years' < *barisan*, indicates the possible relics of a stress accent (cf. IX. i 531).

6. *Weak stress in Sindhī*

In view of para 5 above, a comparison of Sindhī which shows no doubling anywhere, indicates a possibility that Sindhī has had a weak stress (cf. VIII. i. 7).

7. *Accent in the Nāgā languages*

Accent usually falls on the penultimate syllable in Empeo and Kachchī Nāgā languages (cf. III. ii. 412).

8. *Accent in grammatical environments*

(*a*) In the Kachin group dialect Singphō, in its compound verbs the accent is carried to the last verb, as in *bai-lū* 'to find again' (cf. III. ii. 505).

(*b*) In Pahāṛī Kiŭṭhali, the stress accent is indicated by the present stem (cf. IX. iv. 560).

9. Final syllable is accented in Konkanī (cf. VII. 167).

10. *Accent in Muṇḍā languages*

Santālī, the representative of Muṇḍā, shows an initial accent when the word has two syllables, as *serma*, 'year'. But if the

1. *Ecyclopoedia Britannica*, Ed. 14, article on Dravidian languages.



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word ends in a semi-consonant, the accent falls on the last syllable.

This indicates that 'the semi-consonant' may be only an aspect of accent, which requires a penetrative analysis.

11: *Accent in Bihārī*

Accent in Bihārī is closely associated with the syllabic structure of the language, particularly with the rule of short antepenultimate, reference to which has already been made (see § 40.2). This indicates that Bihārī accent is predominantly quantitative and strictly follows the 'principle of syllabic quantity', requiring a short syllable before every penultimate vowel. Cf. the following observation,[1] 'The genius of the Bihārī language is adverse to the existence of a long vowel in a *tadbhava* word, when it would occupy a portion more than two syllables from the end.' This indicates that Bihārī accent is environmental, but the nature of the accent-pitch or stress of the short syllable concerned remains to be explored.

41 **9. Tones in the languages of India**

1. *Introductory*

'Tone' in the linguistic sense, as Webester explains it, either denotes pitch or change of pitch that serves to express emotion or grammatical relationship or indicates the behaviour of pitch in intonational environments.[2] The latter sense concerns sentence intonation, with which we are not concerned here. But the scope of the former may be further extended so as to include tone languages as well, a tone language being defined by K. L. Pike[3] as 'a language having lexically significant contrastive but relative pitch on each syllable'. According to Grierson,[4] "A tone is a relatively fixed acoustic pitch or change of pitch, inherent in a word, and necessary for its significance." Not much is known

1. *Enoyclopaedia Britannica, Ed. 14*, article on Bihari Language, p. 557.
2. According to R. Kingdon, Tone is, "a stress considered from the point of view of the pitch or pitch change associated with it", with no reference what so ever to significantic. Cf. *Ground work of English intonation*, (1958), pt. I, p. X, pt. II. p. XXIII.
3. Cf. *Tone languages* (1961). p. 3.
4. Cf. *LSI* Vol. I. pt. II, p. 3.

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about the exact nature of tones said to occur in Indian languages. Grierson's data is mostly unreliable and only makes sporadic references about them, which may be seen in the following pages.

2. *Tones in Austro-Asiatic languages*

About Mōn-khmēr we are told that it has tones (cf. II. 7), but no specification of these tones has been given. The Muṇḍā language, having semi-consonants, is supposed to have 'abrupt tones', which are said to occur in Indo-Chinese (cf. IV. 11). Tibeto-Burman Nēwārī also possesses this abrupt tone (cf. III. i. 216). A few Khāmbu dialects, according to Hodgson, have this abrupt tone (cf. III. i. 318). But this amounts to mere 'cataloguing', without the description.

3. *High tone in Indo-Chinese languages*

Voiced initials in Indo-Chinese languages tend to evolve a high tone, perhaps due to the existence of prefixes before the base-word (cf. III. i. 4).

An allied phenomenon is said to occur among the languages of the Tai group. It is stated that the system of tones in this group arose from the elision of prefixes in some historical period of the language. Cf. the above para.

4. *Tones in Tibeto-Burman languages*

In Central Tibetan, tones are said to be alive, and have three types, high, mid and low (cf. III i. 25). They are spoken in the Tibetan dialects of Lahul and Spiti, and of Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan (cf. III. i. 70). The Lahul type of the tones indicate some environmental features. e.g. final *d*, *g* imperfectly pronounced lead to an abrupt short pronunciation of the preceding vowel, as in thó 'roof', classical *thog*.

Kachin has five or six tones, showing some relationship with Tibetan (cf. III. ii. 506), Manipuri or Meithei has two (cf. III. iii. 25). The Singphō dialect spoken in Assam, is said to be rich in tones. Miri is said to abound in tones, but they have never been described so far (cf. III. i. 589).

In Lōhtā tones play an important part, the 'negative syllable is intonated higher' (cf. III. ii. 285).

In Khāmtī there occur at least three tones (cf. II. 144).

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In Gārō certain pronunciations indicate a jerkey, staccato utterance of the preceding syllable. It is known as the abrupt tone. Cf. Para 2 above.

In Bahing, Hodgson mentions the 'Pausing tone' in the word *aa*, the doubling here functioning as a symbol of the tone.

Tones in the North Assamese group of Tibeto-Burman agree in part with those of Central Tibetan (cf. III. i. 569).

5. *Tones in Iranian languages*

Bloch[1] mentions tones in Paṣhtō, as in *kāaṭ* 'bed'.

6. *Tones in Indo-Aryan languages*

(a) According to Bloch[2] Shinā has tones parallel to those in Pañjābī.

(b) According to the same authority, tones as those of Pañjābī and of Bāngrū have something in common.

(c) *Tones in Pañjābī*

Grierson had envisaged tone in Pañjābī when he noticed in the articulation of *h*, when non-initial or preceding an accented syllable, a rise in the pitch of the preceding vowel (cf. IX. i. 628). Since Bailey's discovery, the tones in Pañjābī are now a well-known phenomenon, but on the basis of this very secondary feature in Pañjābī, as it occurs only in a limited number of words, to elevate Pañjābī to a tone language, as has been done by H. S Gill and H. A. Gleason, Jr. is questionable.[3] The fact is that in Pañjābī and in several allied dialects, the 'tone' is actually a tono-aspirational feature. Cf. Pōwādhī, a dialect of Pañjābī, *naihair* 'canal', but *naìhrī* 'pertaining to a canal', *saihair* 'city', but *saìhrī* 'pertaining to a city'. In view of this Pañjābī may be called a 'tonalized language', but not a 'tone-language'.

42 10. **Nasalization**

1. *Regional aspects of nasality*

Grierson's data show that speech communities differ regarding

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1. Cf. *L' indo-Aryan* p. 24.
2. Cf. *ib.*, p. 19
3. *A reference grammar of Panjabi*, Hartford, (1962), p. 43.

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their attitude towards nasalization. Thus while the Dardic language Brōkpā has nasalization as a free variant (cf. VIII. ii. 186), while Mālvī final vowels tend to be nasalized (cf. IX. ii. 54), and while Lahndā dialect Dhannī is fond of nasalization, as in *mā̃ḍā* 'my' and *usā̃h* 'to him', (cf. VIII. i. 543), the Marāṭhī dialect Kuḍāḷī has a strong tendency to denasalization (cf. VII. 194). In Gōvārī nasality is usually dropped (cf. VII. 286).

2. *Distributional data of nasalization*

In South-Eastern Bengali *m* is changed into nasalization (cf. V. i. 292). In Western Bengali there is a final nasalization (cf. V. i. 70).

In Naipālī, all verbs whose roots end in a vowel may optionally be nasalized, as *garaũ chhu* 'I cause to make'. In Charōtarī (cf. IX. ii. 394), a Gujarātī dialect, the final vowel tends to be nasalised.

MORPHOLOGY

## 43 Grammatical categories in the light of Grierson's data

1. *Introductory*

Grierson's data will be an eye-opener to those whose intellectuality is overloaded with the conclusions of traditional grammar. A great linguistic observer, Hermann Paul, wrote in 1920 that grammatical categories are external manifestations of psychological categories.[1] This should mean that the speaker of a particular speech has basically his own free ideas about the words he speaks, and that these ideas or concepts should be carefully appreciated before formulating any views or theories of any linguistic phenomenon. But it is curious that the very Hermann Paul, in the same book,[2] states that the occurrence of a substantive in the abstract sense (of a verb) often misleads people with the idea that nouns can also function as verbs.

In his recent book F. R. Palmer,[3] has stated, "the most

1. Cf. *Prinzipien der sprachge-shichte*, (1920), p. 263.
2. *ib.* p. 350.
3. Cf. *A lingustic study of English verb*, (1965), p. 1.

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difficult part of any language is the part that deals with the verb." As if a verb should be the necessary constituent of a language.

2. *The adjective functioning as verb*

Grierson's data show that in the Nāgā dialect Āo (cf. III. ii. 273) adjectives are freely treated as verbs. The Tibeto-Burman dialect Rāngkhōl freely uses adjectives as verbs (cf. III. iii. 187). The Kuki-Chin dialect Aimol (cf. III. iii. 217) uses verbal suffixes when adjectives function as verbs in this dialect.

A reverse concept may be of some relevance here. The eminent logician Gadādhara[1] says that in the utterance the 'flower is smelt', 'is smelt' may be taken as an attribute of 'flower', suggesting that from the conceptual point of view, the verb and the adjective can not be taken as separate, water-tight compartments.

3. *Verbs from nouns*

In the Tibeto-Burman language Lai, verbs are formed from nouns by adding the suffix- *th* (cf. III. iii. 122).

4. *An 'omni-category' in Santālī*

In Santālī the amorphous base of a 'tense' can perform the function of a noun, verb, or adjective (cf. IV. 45).

5. *Nouns and adjectives as 'roots' for verbs*

In Khassi, verbs are formed by adding prefixes to nouns and adjectives (cf. II. 9). This important phenomenon from Grierson will dispel the delusion that nouns and adjectives are derived from verbal roots.

6. *No verb in Tibeto-Burman*

In Tibeto-Burman like Siamese-Chinese, the same word can often be used as a noun, as an adjective, and as a verb. These dialects do not possess a real verb. Moreover, it is incapable of inflection.

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1. Cf. व्युत्पत्तिवाद, (1970 V.S.), p. 279.
पुष्पमाघ्रायत इत्यादौ च निरुक्तप्रकारत्वमाख्यातार्थः ।

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7. *The verb virtually a noun*

In Tibeto-Burman Kagate, the verb is still virtually a noun. Similarly, in Tibeto-Burman Gurung, there is no change for number and person in a 'verbal' form. The verb is virtually a noun (cf. III. i. 185).

## CASE FORMS IN INDIAN LANGUAGES

44 Grierson's data are pointers to the immense diversities of case forms in the languages of India and make it necessary to take a broad view of the concept of 'case' in the first instance.

1. *The concept of 'case'*

In order to get a clear idea of the notion of 'case', it is necessary to view it from two stand points, viz. formal and conceptual. Formally, the 'case' implies a set of terminations, called *vibhakti* by Sanskrit grammarians. Conceptually it implies some sort of relationship with other elements of an utterance, called *kāraka*-by Sanskrit Grammarians.[1] This binary correlation was also noticed by Tamil authorities, who called them *vērrumai* and *uruppu*, respectively.[2] The conceptual side of case implies an evaluation of relationship of the case with other elements of an utterance.

2. *The 'spatial' aspect of 'case'*

According to Jespersen,[3] the caseforms are different 'according to distance from the speaker', so that he brings a caseform under the category of 'space', making the speaker the nucleus of all caseforms. But a comparison with the facts of various languages, as recorded by Grierson, will show that such a subjective view of caseforms will not stand the test of inductive observation. H. Hirt[4], substitutes 'direction' for space in this case-concept. Thus, according to him the Ablative case is an answer to the

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1. Cf. Renou, *Terminologie grammaticale du Sanskrit.*
2. Cf. *The Tamil grammar, Nannul*, sirtras 291 and 302.
3. Cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica, Ed. 14*, article on grammar p. 614.
4. Cf. *Das nomen*, (1927), p. 37.

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question 'where from ?', the instrumental to 'where with ?', and the locative 'where ?' Although this concept of case is more tangible than that presented by Jespersen, it will be presently noticed that in this view we entirely miss the internal controlling principle of an utterance, and the associates of the caseform within an utterance.

3. *The 'behavioristic' aspect of case*

That some action is involved in the concept of the case has been pointed out by Brugmann[1] where he states that a case-ending expresses primarily a relation to a verbal concept. That cases are directly connected with verbs and verbal action, is eminently confirmed by Grierson's data on the Muṇḍā language Santālī in which we find incorporation of cases with verbs, as we shall see (cf. IV. 40) By a happy coincidence, the Sanskrit commentary Kāśikā, commenting on Pāṇini 1. 4. 23 *kārake* states that the term *kāraka* 'case' is synonymous with 'cause' (determinant). 'But whose cause ?' asks the commentary. 'The cause of the action' replies the commentary, so that action, or behaviour, may be taken as the nucleus of the case concept. The commentary explains this 'action' as the bringing about of the result embodied in the sense of the whole utterance. That action is basically implied by verbal expression, as noticed by Brugmann and is further confirmed by the facts of the language of Dakota about which Uhlenbeck[2] states that this language is unaware of a nominal declension but recognizes a difference between transitive and intransitive.

4. *The 'relational' aspect of case*

Webster, commenting on 'case', points out the relational aspect of case by stating that the forms of a case 'indicate its sense relation to other words' in the utterance. The Tamil Grammar *Nannūl* (Sūtra 291) similarly explains the relationship of a case form to other forms in the same utterance. The above data will amply testify to the fact that the concept of 'case' is a composite

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2. Cf. *Grundriss* II, 2, p. 109.

1. Quoted by Royen on p. 863 of *Die nominalen Klassifikation-systeme des sprachen des Erde*, (1929).

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concept of many dimensions and that its relation to some other element of the utterance should be the basic essential of this concept.

5. *The range of relationship of case*

While in modern Kāfirī Waigalā, the agentive case is expressed in the nominative case, even the object is put in the same case, e.g. (cf. VIII. ii. 46) *se manash se preshyā* 'that man was sent by him'. In Tulsi, the verb agrees with the object in the past, as in Sanskrit idiom.[1] Similarly in Gujarātī idiom.[2] On the other hand, in Gilgitī the agentive case has a wider scope than any Indo-Aryan language (cf. VIII. ii. 154). It can be used with any tense, past or non-past. In the languages of the 'Inner Circle', however, the agentive case with *nē* can be used only with the past tense. Similarly, in Bengali the nominative 'rhythmically' corresponds to the verb.[3] A noun often takes *ē* in the nominative singular, when it is the subject of a transitive verb. The case in Indian languages is thus very closely related to verbal forms in various ways and degrees.

6. *The oblique case as a common NIA and Dravidian feature*

Grierson has pointed out that in the vast majority of New Indo-Aryan languages, viz. Hindī, Pañjābī, Rājasthānī and Gujarātī (cf. IX. ii. 340), the oblique case dominates in nominal declension, while the same feature predominates in Dravidian as well (cf. IV. 291), for the Dravidian noun has two stems, one inflected (oblique), the other uninflected. Ḍōgrī and N. W. Lahndā similarly show a complete oblique system (cf. IX. i. 638). In Marāṭhī as well, postpositions are added to the oblique (cf. VII. 24).

(*a*) *The oblique case in New Indo-Aryan*

According to Bloch,[4] the oblique case is based on ancient

1. Royen, *Die nominalen Klassifikations-systeme des Sprachen des Erde*, (1929).
2. Cf. *ib.*, p. 937.
3. Cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica, 14th Ed.*, article on Bengali language, p. 408.
4. *L'indo-Aryan*, p. 172.



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genitive, but the instrumental, the locative and the ablative have had also a part to play therein.

It has been supplemented by postpositions—supplemented because the oblique form by itself would be incomplete and gives no sense ; the sense would be completed only if a supplement be added to it.

*(b) A typical case of oblique*

In the Ambalvi dialect of Western Hindī (cf. IX. i. 247) the dominance of oblique has become so impressive that the oblique ending *ē* is added to the genitive of the stem, e.g. *chamār-ke-nē* 'by a chamar'

*(c) The independent oblique*

In Kāfirī Waigalā, the oblique can stand for any case whatsoever (cf. VIII. ii. 46). This very interesting characteristic indicates that the need for an oblique was felt to be an almost universal Indo-Aryan need. Thus in Marāṭhī the post-position is added, not to the base, but to the oblique (cf. VII. 24), similarly in Telugu (cf. IV. 588).

*(d) Absence of oblique*

Grierson's data also show some dialects lacking in an oblique. Thus Ōrmuṛī noun does not change for any case (cf. X. 136). Kumaunī shows traces of direct case as in *raja kaṇi*, 'to the king' (cf. IX. iv. 117). Naipālī shows a complete confusion of direct and oblique (cf. IX. iv. 24). Halabī, a Marāṭhī sub-dialect shows no oblique at all (cf. VII. 332). In Dravidian Brāhūī, as in Kurukh, there is no separate oblique (cf. IV. 622).

7. *Case formations synthetically*

The problem of case formation in Indian languages assumes a baffling complexity when we encounter the fact that even in one and the same dialect some cases are formed synthetically, but others analytically, e.g. in Lahndā there occur six synthetic cases viz. nominative, general oblique, agentive, locative, ablative and vocative (cf. VIII. i. 254).

In Sindhī ablative, locative and vocative are synthetic (cf. VIII. i. 24).

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In some of the Indo-Aryan languages such as Bengali, Kumaunī and Kāshmīrī with inanimate objects the genitive formations are synthetic, cf.

| *Bengali* | *Kāshmīrī* | *Kumaunī* |
|---|---|---|
| *ghoṛer*, 'of the horse' | *garuk* | *gharōk* |

In Balōchī, case formations are synthetic, but their complexity is enhanced by the affixation of pronomial suffixes to nouns to indicate the genitive and the dative.

## 45 Gender in Indian Languages

1. *The connotation of gender*

While Grierson's data indicate a tremendous range of diversities in gender in Indian languages, it will be desirable to fix upon certain basic points regarding the concept of gender. Thus Webster gives a pragmatic presentation of gender, basing the concept on grammatical concord ; being 'that characteristic of a word which requires that other words agree with it according to which of the three classes it belongs to', so that relationship with some *class* of words is the fundamental characteristic of gender. While Jespersen, similarly bases gender on she principle of 'classification', he just alludes to the vagaries of gender, as he says, "very often it is impossible to discern why one word belongs to one gender rather than to another, e.g. in old English *stān* 'stone' and *wifmann*, 'woman' were masculine."

2. *The motivation for gender*

What has led mankind to set up the concept of gender and to use it in language has been suggested by a French authority B-eauZée, who attributes it to the urge for 'congruence' in human language i.e. language finds ways and means to befit certain word-classes with others of the same type.[1]

3. *Four types of gender in Indian Languages*

Grierson's data urge us to set up four types of gender in Indian languages :

(*a*) Animate-inanimate gender

1. Quoted by Royen, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

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(*b*) Rational-irrational gender

(*c*) Sex-gender

(*d*) Class-gender

We shall consider these types seriatim :

(a) In Manipurī language, spoken in Assam, gender has only two forms, animate and inanimate, so that there can never be any confusion between the two.[1] The animate-inanimate type, with various permutations and combinations, has had a tremendous extension in Muṇḍā and Tibeto-Burman languages, so much so, that it has affected some Indo-Aryan languages as well, e.g. in Khōwār we have *asúr*, 'he is', *shēr*, 'it is' and in Kāshmīrī inanimate pronouns.

In Muṇḍā languages Santālī (cf. IV. 40), Khaṛiā (cf. IV. 192) and Kūrkū (cf. IV. 169) there is a complete system of animate-inanimate gender.

Similar is the case with Tibeto-Burman languages, Siyin (cf. III. iii. 73), Banjōgī (cf. III. iii.146), Rāngkhōl (cf. III. iii. 183) and Hallām (cf. III. iii. 193). But Mirī and Daflā (cf. III. i. 590), Chutiyā (cf. III. ii. 120), Mikir (cf. III. ii. 382) and Mrū (cf. III. iii. 387) have gender only for animates.

(*b*) *The rational-irrational type*

Krishnamurti speaks of two types of gender in Dravidian[2] :

(*i*) Male : non-male type

(*ii*) A three way dislocation
male : female : non-person

It is the first type which concerns the 'Rational Irrational' type of Dravidian. The fact is that the occurrence of the feminine gender in Dravidian was a later incident in the history of Dravidian. The pure rational non-rational gender has been remarkably preserved by Kui, which has no feminine gender (cf. IV. 460) having only masculine and neuter, although the term 'masculine' in this case would be somewhat irrelevant : the contrast

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1. Cf. LSI, III. iii. p. 25.
2. Cf. *Telugu verbal bases*, (1961), pp. 255-6.

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here is between 'human' and 'non-human', exactly corresponding to rational-irrational. Another very interesting phenomenon in connection with Kui is that its Indo-Aryan neighbour, viz. Oṛiyā (cf. V. ii 380) has also two genders, viz. rational and irrational. This seems to be the effect of a language like Kui. Another notable feature met with in the Dravidian Kurukh is that the feminine forms are current only among women when they talk among themselves. Thus while Kui preserves a Dravidian antiquity in the form of rational irrational gender a fraction of this trend is also maintained in Kurukh. To this feature another important point may also be added, viz. most Dravidian languages have no feminine form (cf. IV. 290). Gōṇḍī shows masculine-feminine contrast, indicating a later development. Even though only Tamil and Kanarese have a regular feminine gender (cf. IV. 284). even these two languages show more consistency the rational : irrational contrast (cf. IV. 284). Sex gender, therefore, is only an incidental episode in Dravidian.

(i) *The Range of 'Rational-Irrational' gender*

Among the languages of the world, the range of rational-irrational gender has been associated by Pater Schmidt,[1] with animate-inanimate category, which he says has its strongest form from Bantu in the West to Dravidian in the East. There may be some truth in this observation, as the rational-irrational gender seems to be an evolution of the animate-inanimate principle.

(ii) *The 'Personal category' the basis of Dravidian gender*

According to Schmidt[2] the 'personal category' later evolved in Dravidian, leading to the feminine gender, is also shared by Caucasus languages. If this be correct, even the feminine element in Dravidian gender may be of great antiquity, and this further raises the overall importance of Kui as the topmost receptable of Dravidian antiquity in gender.

(c) *Sex-gender*

The sex-gender is preeminently a characteristic feature of Indo-Aryan, which has been even further evolved by New Indo-Aryan,

1. Cf. *Sprachfamilien und Sprachenkreise der Erda*, (1926), p. 345.
2. Cf. *ib.*, p. 343.

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even the verb of which has evolved gender. According to Brugmann[1] Indo-European had partly a sex-gender, e.g. Sanskrit *patnī* 'wife', Greek *pótnia*, but from the formal point of view[2] Indo-European had no formative for masculine, but only for feminine.

*Sex-gender and neuter*

H. Hirt protests against the association of the *neuter* with sex gender. "The neuter", he says, "is the relic of a phenomenon of a much greater antiquity".

Hirt seems to suggest that 'neuter' may have radiated from the Animate-Inanimate principle of gender. While the Animate-Inanimate principle of the gender thoroughly permeates a Muṇḍā language like Santâlī (cf. IV. 40), it has affected, to some extent, far-off languages like Chitrali khō-wār, e.g. cf. khōwār *asúr, hin*, 'he is'. *shĕr* 'it is.' Moreover, Naipālī has entirely discarded grammatical gender (cf. IX. iv. 23), and has evolved a predictable gender. Even the Dravidian language Telugu has three predictable genders :

(a) male, (b) female and boys and (c) the rest (cf. IV. 588).

(d) *Class-gender pattern*

Relationship of gender to class suggests a notable feature in the Bantu languages of Africa[3], in which substantives are divided into classes or genders, indicated by the pronominal particle attached to the root, e.g. the Bantu word for tree is *muti*, but the fig tree is called *mu-kuyn mu*-being a prefix added to the name of every tree. *mu*-here has been called a 'gender or class', gender thus signifying class characteristic.[4]

A similar concept occurs in *Bāṛā*, a Tibeto-Burman dialect (cf. III. ii. 16). Besides the common formative suffixes, it also

1. Cf. *Grundriss*, II, 1, p. 600.
2. Brugmann, ib., II. 2. 83.
3. Cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, 14th Ed., article on Bantu languages, p. 80.
4. Cf. G. Royen, *op. cit.* p. 251.

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adds the name of the class of objects to which the word concerned belongs. Thus, in the case of human beings, *hōa*, 'male', *hingzhāu* 'female' is added.

4. *Generic particles*

Closely related to class-gender pattern are the generic particles, added to numerals when used in connection with certain nouns. They are intended to indicate the nature of the noun concerned.

Thus, in Tai Group Āhom *kūn* is used in counting human beings, as *kūnphū būng*, 'person male one-one man', *tū* in counting animals, as *tū shâng-shaṅ mū*, 'two twenty pig=22 pigs' (cf. II. 94).

In Tibeto-Burman Nēwārī *mā* is used for trees or plants, as *chhā-mā sima*, 'a timber tree' (cf. III. i. 217).

In Tibeto-Burman Pahāṛī *-mha* is used for animals, *-gi* for things, as *thī-mha chalā-cha*, 'a kid' (cf. III. i. 228).

In Dravidian Maltō, generic particles are specific, *maq* for animals ; *paṭ* for things with flat surface, *pāṛ* for round things, e.g. *maq-ond ēṛe* 'one goat'.

5. *Languages without gender*

Side by side with gender-ridden languages, India has also languages, which are unaware of any gender. For instance there is no gender in :

(*a*) Siamese-Chinese :
Āhom (cf. II. 90), Khāmtī (cf. II. 145)

(*b*) Tibeto-Burman :
Angāmī (Nāgā) (cf. III. ii. 208)

(*c*) Muṇḍā :
Savara (cf. IV. 219), Juāṅg (cf. IV. 210)

(*d*) Dravidian :
Brāhūī (cf. IV. 622), Gadabā (cf. IV. 231)

(*e*) Indo-Aryan :
Bengali (cf. V. i. 34), Mayāng (an Assamese dialect) (cf. V. i. 421), Nahālī (a Muṇḍā dialect) (cf. IV. 185)

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6. *The mechanisms of gender*

Grierson's data show that Indian languages have adopted various mechanisms for the manifestation of gender :

(*a*) Special words like 'male', 'female', corresponding to English 'he', 'she' are added to the name concerned, e.g. in Tibeto-Burman Lāhuḷī of Chamba, the basis of sex gender formation is the female :

*bhīṛ*, 'female cat'

taṛbhīṛ, 'male cat' (cf. III. i. 461), similarly in Tibeto-Burman Namsangiā (cf. III. ii. 336).

(*b*) Suffixes are also used even in Tibeto-Burman for this purpose, as in Lhōtā a dialect of Central Nāgā (cf. III. ii. 286) *-ālā* and *-vā* suffixes are used in Tāngkhul, a Nāgā-Kuki language (cf. III. ii. 464).

But suffixes are much more frequently used in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, e.g. *-a* masc., *-ī* fem., as *ghoṛā*, 'horse', *ghōṛī* ; and in Dravidian *-n* masc. *ḷ* fem., Tamil *vēḷan*, 'cultivator (caste)', *vēḷaḷ* fem.

(*c*) For neuter gender in NIA suffixes like *u-* as in, *tāzū pāṇī* 'fresh water' (Bhadrawāhī), and nasalization as in *sonõ̃* (Braj) are used.

7. *Three genders in New Indo-Aryan*

In New Indo-Aryan, the occurrence of three genders in Marāṭhī and Gujarātī (cf. IX. ii. 340) is well known. The present writer has reported the occurrence, on an extensive scale, of the neuter gender in Western Pahāṛī languages.[1] Khāndēśī also shows three genders (cf. IX. iii. 204).

8. *Traces of neuter gender in various dialects*

In modern Braj words like *sonaũ̃* or *sonõ̃* for 'gold', indicate the neuter gender (cf. IX. i. 72).

In Bhadaurī, a dialect of Bundēlī, expressions like the impersonal *chāhaũ̃*, lit. 'it was wished' i e. 'he wished', are used (cf IX. i. 532).

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1. Cf. *The neuter gender in Bhadrawāhī* (1930). *The dialects of Khaśālī group*, (1939).

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In Ḍāṅgī in the same impersonal sense *suṇvũ*, 'it was heard', is used (cf. IX. i. 342).

In Western Pahāṛī, pronouns have also the neuter gender, though not in the dialects of Chamba (cf. IX. iv. 779).

## 46 Person as a characteristic of the verb

### 1. *Person as a grammatical category*

'Person, as a grammatical category', as Jespersen points out, "is shown in pronouns and in many languages also in the verb."[1] Grierson's data show that person frequently accompanies the characteristics of a verb. Thus the Tibeto-Burman dialect Dārmiyā (cf. III. i. 493) shows a distinct tendency to distinguish the person of the subject in the form of the verbs. It is also sometimes stated that the verbal terminations of Indo-European as of Sanskrit *-mi* and *-ti* are here and there only fossilized fragments of Indo-European pronouns, although it may be a mere coincidence. The close relation of pronouns to verbs is befittingly illustrated by the Tibeto-Burman dialect Shö (cf. III. iii. 338) in which abbreviated pronouns are prefixed to every verb in order to indicate the person and number of the subject. The treatment of person, in Kāshmīrī would be illuminating in this context. For 'I saw', Kāshmīrī has three forms :

*mĕ wuchhᵘ*, *wuchhum*, and *mĕ wuchhum* (cf. VIII. ii. 312).

In the first example, the pronoun is entirely separated from the verb, in the 2nd one, it is incorporated with the verb in the form of a suffix, while in the third one, we have a synthesis of both the pronouns separately, and of the verb-cum-pronoun. All the three are current in living speech.

### 2. *The mechanisms of person*

Grierson's data show that while in Indo-Aryan a vastly organised system of terminations possesses elements of person, as in Hindi *hũ* '(I) am', *mārē*, '(he) may strike', in Tibeto-Burman

1. *Encyclopaedia Britannica, Ed. 14*, article on grammar, p. 416.



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dialects both prefixal and suffixal mechanisms are used for the purpose, as is being shown presently. But here a specimen of a highly elaborated evolution of this mechanism, as occurring in Tibeto-Burman dialect Limbu (cf. III. i. 288) may be mentioned, in which both the subject and object are indicated in the verb by pronominal suffixes e.g. *ā-k'-hip*, 'my-thy-striking' 'you strike me'. The mechanisms used by Santālī, a Muṇḍā language, are even more complicated (cf. IV. 48).

(a) *Prefixes as a mechanism of person in Tibeto-Burman*

The following Tibeto-Burman languages use prefixes as a mechanism of person :

Siyin (cf. III. iii. 74), Lai (cf. III. iii. 119), Zahao (cf. III. iii. 111), Lushēi (cf. III. iii. 133), Ngentē (cf. III. iii. 140), Pānkhū (cf. III. iii. 155), Rāngkhōl (cf. III. iii. 185), Hallām (cf. III. iii. 196), Langrong (cf. III. iii. 209), Chiru (cf. III. iii. 228), Kolrēn (cf. III. iii. 237), Kōm (cf. III. iii. 247), Mhār (cf. III. iii. 257), and Pūrūm (cf. III. iii. 266).

(b) *Suffixes as a mechanism of person*

In New Indo-Aryan languages as in Hindī, Bengali, Marāṭhī as is well known, suffixes are used as a mechanism of person.

As regards Muṇḍā languages, the following data may be of interest :

In Santālī, verbs, as a rule, do not change for person (cf. IV. 48), but if the subject is animate, person is indicated by suffixes. If the person stands in case relation to a verb, it is infixed in the verb itself.

The following Muṇḍā dialects use suffixes for person :

Kārmālī, (cf. IV. 71), Khaṛiā, (cf. IV. 195), Juāṅg (cf. IV. 211).

The following Tibeto-Burman languages use suffixes for person :

Vāyū (cf. III. i. 386), Bāhing (cf. III. i. 330), Limbu (cf. III. i. 288), Kanāshī, (cf. III. i. 444), Thāmī (cf. III. i. 281), and Banjogi (cf. III. iii. 148).

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3. *Non-occurrence of person*

In several linguistic areas there are some languages in which the phenomenon of person either does not occur at all or is confined only to a few grammatical environments, e.g.

(*a*) *Indo-Aryan*

Pāḍarī (cf. IX. IV. 907), Chamĕāḷī, (cf. IX. IV. 780). Here only the present tense does not show any change for person and similarly in Dardic Maiyã, (cf. VIII. ii. 524). But in Dardic Tōrwālī, there is no change for person at all (cf. VIII. ii. 515).

(*b*) *Dravidian*

In Naikī, verbs do not change for person (cf. IV. 570).

(*c*) *Tibeto-Burman*

The following Tibeto-Burman languages show no trace of person :

Kachin of Assamese Singphos (cf. III. ii, 508), Empēo or Kachchā Nāgā (cf. III. ii. 444), Mikir (cf. III. ii, 386), Āo (cf. III. ii. 277), Angāmi (cf. III. ii. 211), Aka in North Assam Group (cf. III. i. 578), Lepcha (cf. III. i. 238), Nēwārī (cf. III. i. 217), Gurung (cf. III. i. 185), Māgarī (cf. III. i. 209), Manipurī (cf. III. iii. 28).

In the above data, the occurrence of prefixal and sufixal systems in the same Tibeto-Burman family of languages raises many exciting problems. It seems as if other substrata lie behind these languages.

## 47 Number : various ways of treatment

1. *Number as a category in language*

While Grierson's data about number in most of Indian languages are obscure and complicated, equally obscure is the explanation of number by linguistic experts. Thus Jespersen[1] admits that 'the distinction between one and more than one is very easy from notional point of view, but not so easy grammatically, because some things

1. *Encyclopaedia Britannica, Ed. 14*, article on grammar, p. 614.

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may be looked upon, either as units or composite'. For here the contrast of plural and collection turns up, the latter form being presented by several Indian languages, as we shall see presently. Thus Royen says : 'According to A. Thompson the concept of plurality represents individuals in a manifold form, but in a collection individuality is blurred". This is why some languages affix various suffixes while others attach some nouns in the formation of plural. The latter attempt has been the speaker's unconscious effort for characterization of number.

2. *The occurrence of three numbers*

Grierson's data show the occurrence of three numbers, singular, dual and plural in the following systems of languages :

(*a*) *Tibeto-Burman*

Kanāwarī, (cf. III. i. 432), Limbu (cf. III. i. 285), and Khamī (cf. III. iii. 350). But Khamī always represents the dual number by adding the number 'two' to the numerical form.

(b) *Muṇḍa*

Santālī (cf. IV. 40) and Khaṛiā (cf. IV. 193).

New Indo-Aryan shows no traces of the dual number, so that it has only two numbers.

3. *The mechanisms of p'ural formation in New Indo-Aryan*

While the inner Indo-Aryan languages have various suffixal mechanisms for plural formation, as Hindī-ē in *ghoṛē*, 'horses', fem. *iā̃*, Maṇḍēālī f.pl -ī (cf. IX. iv. 721), Marāṭhī neuter pl. in-*ẽ*, (cf. VII. 24), there are other New Indo-Aryan languages in which plural is formed by the addition of some nouns signifying 'collection', like *-lōk*, *-kula*, *-ganì*, in Bengali, *-mānī*, *-dala*, and *-lōka* in Oṛiyā̃, (cf. V. ii. 380), Mālvī adds-*hōr*, *-hōṛō*, *-hōnō*, (cf. IX. ii. 55).

According to Dr. S. K. Chatterji such formations are the effect of old Dravidian[1]. This tendency of adding 'nouns' illustrates the 'collective' concept of plurality as suggested in para I above.

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1. Cf. *Presidential Address, 17th AllIndia Conference*, p. 40.

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4. *Number not occurring in many languages*

Grammatical forms do not show number in the following languages :

(*a*) *Indo-Aryan*

Kuḷuī (Pahārī) (cf. IX. iv. 677), Tōrwalī Dardic) (cf. VIII. ii. 515) and Māiyā̃ (Dardic) (cf. VIII ii. 524) show the same forms as regards number in the present tense. In Bengali plural is used only with reference to human beings in pronouns (cf. V. i. 34), Assamese has no plural formation (cf. V. i. 402) ; Bihārī shows no distinction of number in verbs ; West Bhōjpurī similarly shows no such distinction (cf. V. ii. 249). In East Magahī plural is the same as singular, only for the plurality of human beings *gula* is added (cf. V. ii. 148).

(*b*) *Dravidian*

In Dravidian dialects plural occurrences are confined to certain environments, e g in Malto fem., pl. agrees with neuter sg. (cf. IV. 448), in Kurukh there is no plural of neuter nouns (cf. IV. 440).

5. In the following Tibeto Burman languages, there are certain environments in which number does not occur :

In Āo, verbs show no distinctive number (cf. III. ii. 273), similarly in Namsangiā (cf. III. ii. 338), Mikir (cf. III. ii. 383), Lhōtā (cf. III. ii. 286) Ēmpēo or Kachchā Nāgā (cf. III. ii. 413), Singphō (cf. III. ii. 506), Angāmi (cf. III. ii. 208), Lepchā (cf. III. i. 237), pūrum (cf. III. iii. 264), North Assam Group (cf. III. i. 576).

In Gārō, however, nouns are added to signify number (cf. III. ii. 71).

6. *Machanism of prefixes in plural formation*

In the following Tibeto-Burman languages the plural of verbs is formed by prefixes :

Ngentē (cf. III. iii. 139), Zahao (cf. III. iii. 110), Banjōgī (cf. III. iii. 146), Mhār (cf. III. iii 257), Kōm (cf. III. iii. 246), Kolrēn (cf. III. iii. 237), Haīlām (cf. III. iii. 194), Rāngkhol (cf.

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III. iii. 183), Pānkhu (cf. III iii. 153), Lushēi (cf. III. iii. 131), Lai (cf. III. iii. 117).

In Langrong prefixes are also used in the same context but somewhat inconsistently (cf. III. iii. 208).

Thus the majority of Indian languages have felt the need of expressing plurality, others only to a limited extent, while mechanisms of plurality are suffixes, prefixes or affixation of certain nouns.

## PRONOUNS

48 Jespersen, gives only a formal presentation of the pronoun,[1] stating that it is used to designate a person or thing already mentioned or known'. Brugmann[2]. speaking of Indo-European pronoun divides the pronoun into two groups : (i) sex-pronouns, (ii) personal pronouns. While Hirt[3] says, "even to this day there is indication of sex in personal pronouns". Royen[4] quotes an authority to the effect that the phenomenon of sex occurs in the pronoun in the language of Port Darwin in the Pecific while, he quotes another authority[5] to show that sex in personal pronoun is a great relic of antiquity, being a relic of the custom of mother-right.

### 1. *Two types of Pronouns*

As stated above Brugmann[6] classifies pronouns in two types (i) Sex-pronouns and (ii) Personal-pronouns. The sex pronouns had three subdivisions (a) Demonstrative, (b) Relative, and (c) Interrogative. All these three have partly an adjectival or attributive function which particularises languages with sex-gender. A striking example of this is the Russian language, the pronominal structure of which is considrably adjectival although even in this language, the strictly personal pronouns show a

1. Cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica, Ed. 14*, article on grammar.
2. Cf, *Grundriss* II 2-2, p. 378,
3. Cf. op. cit. p. 329.
4. Cf. op. cit. p. 244.
5. Cf. op. cit. p. 264.
6. Cf. op. cit. 302.

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structure, considerably free from any adjectival tinge. Personal Pronouns -the 'I-Thou' pattern- are absolutely individualistic in nature, having no touch of any collective attribute -they directly concern the individual's personality.

So far as the 'third-person' is concerned Brugmann[1] is correct in stating that the so called 'third-person' can not be separated from the demonstrative, so that it also has a gender, and to call it a person would be a misnomer.

2. *Pronoun and the verb in Indian languages*

Grierson's data show that the pronoun is closely related to the verb in Indian languages. Thus in Tibeto-Burman Shö, abbreviated pronouns are prefixed to the verb to indicate the person and the number of the subject (cf. III, iii. 334).

3. *Pronominal suffixes*

Pronominal suffixes are used in various ways in diverse Indian systems of languages, e.g.

(*a*) in Tibeto-Burman Dhīmāl personal pronouns are additionally suffixed to the tense bases, if the subject is of the first or second person (cf. III. i. 278).

(*b*) In Kāshmīrī, pronominal suffixes can be used for any case of a personal pronoun. In fact they may be taken as abbreviated pronouns (cf. VIII. ii. 278).

(*c*) Pronouns as an element of verbal structure can also be illustrated from Gōṇḍī a Dravidian dialect, in which terminations of present and indefinite past correspond to the terminations of the interrogative pronoun (cf. IV. 481).

4. *The range of personal pronouns*

Most of the Tibeto-Burman complex pronominalised languages particularly of the Eastern Sub-Group, such as Limbu (cf. III. i. 287), Bāhing (cf. III. i. 329), Rāi (cf. III. i. 375), chambā Lāhuḷī (cf. III. i. 462) and Bunán (cf. III. i. 472) have double sets

1. Cf. *ib.* p. 307.

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of the dual and the plural, one including and the other excluding the person addressed. In this respect these Tibeto-Burman languages agree with the languages of Muṇḍā family (cf. IV. 25).

In Tamil also we have *nām* and *nāṅgaḷ*, both having the same meaning 'we', but *nām* includes both 'you' and 'we'.[1]

5. *Personal pronoun and relationship*

In Tibeto-Burman Angāmi (Nāgā) the personal pronoun in a possessive form, must precede every word of relationship or part of the body (cf. III. ii. 210). And as is well-known, in Dravidian languages there is often the same tendency. Thus in Tamil, there is no word for 'sister', but for 'my sister', etc. For the word 'sister' Tamil has borrowed Sanskrit *sahodarī*.

6. *Demonstrative Pronouns : their range and scope*

Very vast indeed is the range of domonstrative pronouns found in the languages of India.

(*a*) Santālī possesses a rich variety of demonstrative pronouns. Some of them have different forms according to whether they refer to animate or inanimate objects, suggesting their adjectival nature, others are indeclinable in gender (cf. IV. 43).

(*b*) *Demonstrative in noun structure*

In Kannaḍa and Māltō nouns of agency and action may be formed by adding demonstrative forms to relative participles, thus, *māḍuv-avanu*, 'he who makes' (cf. IV. 372).

(*c*) *Range of Kāshmīrī demonstratives*

There are three grades of demonstratives in Kāshmīrī, one is, this within sight, second, that within sight, and third, that not within sight. Animate *yih*, *huh*, *suh* correspond to these three, respectively (cf. VIII. ii. 279).

Similarly, Khō-wār, has three forms of demonstrative, one near, second remote, and the third more remote (cf. VIII. ii. 136). So is the case with Gilgitī (cf. VIII. ii. 157).

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1. Cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica, Ed. 14*, article on Dravidian languages, p. 625.

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7. *The relative pronoun*

(*a*) In most of the Indo-Aryan languages, some form of the Old Indo-Aryan *ya*-relative pronoun is used. A few Dardic languages are an exception. In Tirāhī *ki* (cf. I. i. 286), Brōkpā of Dras *kē* (cf. VIII. ii. 193), and in Gwar-Bati *ken-ze* is used (cf. VIII. ii. 83). In Kāfirī Bashgalī the relative participle supplies the place of relative pronouns, as in *shū awēl manchī*, 'the news bringing man,' i.e. 'the man who brought the news' (cf. VIII. ii. 37).

(*b*) Dravidian shows no relative pronoun, relative participles are used instead (cf. IV. 294).

(*c*) In Tibeto-Burman there is no relative pronoun. As in Dravidian, relative participles are used instead (cf. V. i. 422).

(*d*) In Muṇḍā also there are no relative pronouns. In Santālī the main Muṇḍā dialect verbal adjectives are used instead. The pronoun *ânā* is often used as a kind of relative (cf. IV. 45). In Kūrkū, another Muṇḍā dialect various tenses and the nouns of agency are used instead (cf. IV. 171).

8. *The reflexive pronoun*

Dardic language Tirāhī, has the reflexive pronoun *tānu*, 'own', which like the Hindustānī, *apnā*, always refers to the logical subject of the sentence[1] (cf. I. i. 286).

## ADJECTIVES

49 Although in some languages, as Jespersen says[2] it seems impossible to find any criteria in flexion that distinguishes substantive from adjective, it is understood that adjectives do follow substantives in some respects in many languages. Thus in modern

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1. This form is very similar to the Dravidian forms, cf. Burrow and Emeneau, *Etymological dictionary of Dravidian*, No. 2612, Tamil : *tani*, *Telugu* : *tane*, 'self'.

2. Cf. *The philosophy of grammar*, (1958), p. 72.



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Irish[1] 'an adjective is aspirated when it agrees with a feminine noun in the nominative or in the masculine noun in the genitive'. The following characteristics of adjectives in Indian languages may be noted :

1. *Inflected adjectives*

In Indo-Aryan, as is well known, adjectives are frequently inflected either in gender, number or case, e. g. adjectives in Pañjābī agree with the noun qualified in gender, number and case (cf. IX. i. 630).

2. *Formation of adjectives*

While in Indo-Aryan the formation of adjectives tends to be by suffixes, in Tibeto-Burman it is formed by prefixes as well as suffixes attached to verbs. Thus, in Tibeto-Burman Lepcha, adjectives are formed from verbal bases by prefixing *ā-*, and if the word ends in a vowel, by suffixing *-m*, thus *dū*, 'to be white', *ā-dūm*, 'white' (cf. III. i. 237).

3. *Case-suffixes to adjectives only*

In many Tibeto-Burman languages, such as Ngentē (cf. III. iii. 139), Pānkhu (cf. III. iii. 154), Hallām (cf. III. iii. 194), Chiru (cf. III. iii. 227), Shö or Khyang (cf. III. iii. 335) and Zahao (cf. III. iii. 110) case suffixes are added to adjectives and not to the qualified noun.

4. *Degrees of Comparison*

In Tibeto-Burman Digāru adjectives may get a prolonged or shortened pronunciation in order to denote a high or a low degree (cf. III. i. 617). Tibeto-Burman Ngentē forms a kind of superlative by repeating the word concerned, thus, *pnan tha-tha*, 'cloth good-good, the best cloth' (cf. III. iii. 139).

5. *Uninflected adjectives*

In Santālī adjectives do not change for gender, number or case (cf. IV. 41). Dravidian adjectives are not capable of inflec-

1. Cf. Royen, *Die nominalen klassifikation-systeme des sprachen des Erde*, (1929), p. 838.

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tion (cf. IV. 292). The only exception is a Tamil dialect Kaikāḍī, where adjectives are sometimes inflected (cf. IV. 334). The Dardic Mayiã shows no inflection in its adjectives (cf. VIII. ii. 523).

## THE ARTICLE

50 The indefinite article, according to Jespersen, is a weak form of the pronoun *one*. Its counterpart, the definite article, according to the same author, can also be reckoned among pronouns.[1] According to Jules Bloch.[2] however, the article of most of Indian languages lies between the Demonstrative and the article proper, the real article occurring only in European Gypsy. This observation may be valid regarding the definite article, but the indefinite article is undoubtedly a more actual feature in Indian languages, various forms parallel to the pronoun *one* being used.

1. *The indefinite article*

The indefinite article occurs in Pañjābī, Hindī, Pahāṛī and allied languages, being a correlate of the pronoun *eka-* 'one'. In Kumauni *yak-*, as in *yak ādim* 'a man' is used in this sense. In Braj and Balōchī, it appears as final *-ē*. Cf. Braj *naukarē* 'a servant' (cf. IX. i. 76), Balōchī *mardē* 'a man' (cf. X. 340). In Brokpā *-k* functions as an indefinite article, as an in *baskōchō-k*, 'a servant' (cf. VIII. ii. 187), in Burushaski *-an*, as in *sisan*, 'a certain man' (cf. VIII. ii. 552).

2. *The definite article*

Indian languages, as a rule, do not show any definite article. Dardic Ōrmuṛī has the definite article *a* as in *a-saṛai*, 'the man,' (cf. X. 129). Halabi has bitā, as in *bāṛbītā*, 'the father' (cf. VII. 332). According to Bloch[3] definiteness in Indian languages is expressed by the oblique case, as in *pānī ko ṭhaṇḍā karo* 'cool the water'.

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1. Cf. *The philosophy of grammar*, (1958), p. 85.
2. Cf. *L'indo-Aryan*, p. 187.
3. Cf. *ib.*, p. 187.

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## PREFIXES

**51** 1. *Prefixal system*

Grierson's data show that in New Indo-Aryan languages, prefixes as a grammatical system do not occur. In Hindī words like *uṭhnā*, *ubalnā*, e.g. only the debris of the Sanskrit prefix *ud-* survive. But in some of the Tibeto-Burman languages, the prefixal system is prevelant.

2. *Older prefixal stage in the North Assam Group*

In the North Assam Group of Tibeto-Burman, the older prefixal stage still survives (cf. III. i. 569). In this group old prefixes are still to a great extent independent syllables and have not fused into one sound with the ensuing base.

3. *Prefixes as mechanisms of grammatical structure*

(*a*) In Mōn-khmēr verbs are formed by adding prefixes to nouns and adjectives (cf. II. 8).

(*b*) In Tibeto-Burman Mikir, adjectives are formed by prefixing *ke-*, *kā-*, *kī-* to the root (cf. III. ii. 384).

(*c*) In Hallām the prefix *man-* 'to get' is affixed to the base for the formation of causatives (cf. III. iii. 196).

4. *Prefixes parallel to Sanskrit upasarga*

In Tibeto-Burman *Rāngkhōl*, there occur prefixes parallel to the Sanskrit *upasarga*, e.g. the prefix *rong-* signifies motion towards the speaker. Cf. the Sanskrit *ā-* in the same sense.

5. *Meaningless prefixes*

But in the Tibeto-Burman system there are languages the prefixes of which are meaningless to the speakers. In this group come *Kōm* (cf. III. iii. 244), and Hirōi Lamgāng (cf. III. iii. 282).

## INFIXES

**52** 1. *Infixes as mechanisms of grammatical structure*

Grierson's data show that infixes play an important role in

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Bâṛâ or Boḍo Group. In this group infixes lead to the formation of adjectives and adverbs (cf. III. ii. 2).

In Indo-Aryan dialect Kumaunī infixes like *y* are used for the formation of past tense, cf. *maĩchhõ̃* 'I am', but *maĩchhyõ̃* 'I was', and nasality for the present tense, e.g. *tu rãchhai* 'thou remainest' *tu rachhai* 'thou remaindest'.

2. *Infixes as syntactical mechanisms*

In Santālī if a person stands in case relation to a verb, the pronoun is infixed in the verb itself, the relationship being indicated by incorporation (cf. IV. 45).

3. *Infixes as intensives*

In Santālī, the infix *-k-* is used in the intensive sense cf. *âl* 'to write', but *âk'âl*, 'to write forcibly' (cf. IV. 39).

4. *An indicator of antiquity*

The Tibeto-Burman language *chutiyā* may fairly claim to be the original language of Upper Assam as we here see in full play that system of modifying infixes, of which there are only sporadic remains in the other languages of Bodo Group (cf. III. ii. 120).

5. *Infixes as pronominal affixes*

The Tibeto-Burman language Vāyu uses infixes as pronominal affixes referring both to the subject and the object (cf. III. i. 386).

## NUMERALS

53 1. *Numeral systems in India*

Of the three systems of counting, viz. by fives 'quinaries', by tens 'decimal' and by twenties 'vigesimal', as described by Pater Schmidt,[1] the decimal system has been prevalent in Indo-Aryan, Tibeto-Burman, Iranian and Dravidian, the vigesimal in Muṇḍā (cf. III. i. 7 and IV. 414). But in rural and pastoral Pañjābī speaking regions the vigesimal system still prevails here and

1. Cf. op. cit, pp. 359-60.

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there to some extent, while Lahndā Khetrānī counts numbers by twenties, not by tens (cf. VIII. i. 372).

2. In many Tibeto-Burman languages such as Hojai (cf. III. ii. 62), Ēmpēo (cf. III. ii. 413), Lai (cf. III. iii. 118), Pānkhū (cf. III. iii. 154), numerals are preceded by generic particles.

3. *Syntactical orders in numerals*

In Tibeto-Burman languages such as Pānkhū (cf. III. iii. 154), Lai (cf. III. iii. 118), Lushēi (cf. III. iii. 132) and Ēmpēo (cf. III. ii. 413), numerals generally follow the substantive qualified.

4. *Formation of numerals in Tibeto-Burman*

In Tibeto-Burman, Kachin and in some other dialects, the rule for the formation of higher numbers is to prefix the numerals 'one', 'two' etc. to 'ten' etc. In Bodo, Nāgā and Kuki Chin Groups numerals are formed by suffixing the multiplier, cf. Thādō *som-ngā*, 'ten-five, fifty'.

## SUFFIXES

### 54 Suffixes : their grammatical functions

Suffixes have a very wide scope. They include formatives and terminations. Grierson's data may be presented here for the purpose of illustration only :

1. *Suffixes associated with Dravidian negation*

Personal terminations are added to the negative base in Dravidian e.g. Tamil *cey-yen* 'I do not do' (cf. IV. 313).

2. *Suffixes functioning as indicators of the past*

Khāndēśī *-n*, as in *paḍani*, 'she fell' (cf. IX. iii. 207). Muṇḍā Kūrkū has three different suffixes for past tense, one beginning with a vowel, another beginning with *k* and the third beginning with *l*.

3. *Suffixal substitution in Tibeto-Burman*

The suffixal treatment of Dārmiyā and other connected forms of speech shows that the classical Tibetan system of forming

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various tenses from different bases stands replaced by suffixes in these languages (cf. III. i. 493).

4. In Tibeto-Burman dialects like Kanāshī (cf. III. i. 444) and Dārmiyā (cf. III. i. 493) there is a distinct tendency to distinguish the person of the subject in the form of the verbs.

5. In most of the Tibeto-Burman languages, such as Ēmpēo (cf. III. ii. 413), Kabui (cf. III. ii 417), Maring (cf. III. ii. 473), gender is expressed by different words or by adding suffixes.

## POSTPOSITIONS

55 1. *Postpositions : their characteristics*

Postpositions, as S. K. Chatterji has pointed out[1] are help-words which have been joined to the noun at the end. They explain the relation of the noun to some other word in the sentence, or the whole sentence. According to Bloch[2] they function as signifying something like pertaining to and also as a complement to the oblique. Jespersen[3] calls them 'postpositive prepositions' e.g. in 'he was laughed at' the postpositive preposition *at* implies that the object in the utterance may be looked upon as the object of the whole combination verb+adverb, *at* here being an adverb. Even during the age of Pāṇini, the need was felt for some indeclinable particle, besides the case-ending. Such indeclinable particles were called *karma-pravacanīya* 1.4.83 by Pāṇini. The Karmapravacanīya- lit. meant 'specifying an object' generally rendered as 'adnominal preposition'. Thus under 1.4.84, 'an army resorting to a mountain' is called *parvatam anva-vasita* 'army attached to a mountain', *anu* being here the *karmapravacanīya*- an adnominal preposition, to which the noun *parvatam* is attached.

2. *Relation of the postposition to the noun*

Function of the postposition in the Tibeto-Burman language

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1 Cf. Presidential address, *Proceedings of the 17th AllIndia Oriental Conference*, p. 39.

2. Cf. *L'indo-Aryan*, pp. 181-2

3. Cf. *A philosophy of grammar*, pp. 163-4.

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Abor-Miri-Dafla shows that the functions which a noun performs in a sentence are usually indicated by postpositions.

3. *Postpositions and Dravidian languages*

Dravidian uses the postpositions as a mechanism in its agglutinative system, the postpositions remain unchanged in singular as well as plural.

4. *Postpositions and Indo-Aryan languages*

The use of post-positions, with regard to the inflexion of nouns, in Indo-Aryan languages, agrees with that of Dravidian (cf. IV. 280).

5. *Postpositions and Marāṭhī languages*

In Marāṭhī, the postposition is added not to the base, but to the oblique. This is generally also the case in the languages of the 'Inner Circle', though in Hindī, Pañjābī (standard) a word ending in a consonant or a vowel ending feminine sg. number the postposition is added to direct case not to oblique, cf. Hindī *luhār kō*, *laṛkī kō*.

6. *Postposition in the Muṇḍā dialect Khaṛiā*

The Muṇḍā dialect Khaṛiā has abandoned the practice of expressing the object in the verb, as is the usual practice in other Muṇḍā dialects and has used the mechanism of postpositions instead (cf. IV. 193).

## PRONOMINAL SUFFIXES/PREFIXES

56 1. *The wide range of pronominal suffixes*

Grierson's data offer a vast and varied material on the extensive range of pronominal suffixes in various linguistic families in India, while experts in general linguistics have noticed the occurrence of these suffixes in such remote linguistic families as Eskimo-Aleutish.[1]

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1. Cf. Pater Schmidt, op. cit., p. 45.

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That the basic urge for pronominal suffixes in human language has been an unconscious perception of close relationship of the pronoun and the verb has been noticed by Royen, who, while mentioning two types of the nominative in Aleutish[1] points out that in some of the Austric languages, additional suffixes *-to* and *-ko* are added when the nominative agrees with the verb. According to Henry, as quoted by Royen, one of the two nominatives in Aleutish is affixed with a pronominal suffix *-kh* which has definitely a demonstrative pronominal sense.

Even Indo-European nominal and verbal suffixes have been supposed by authorities like Finck[2] to be ultimately pronominal suffixes, e. g. according to Finck, the Indo-European *-s* the nominative suffix, was basically the pronoun *so-* of Indo European.

2. *Six features of Indian pronominal suffixes*

According to Emeneau[3] there are six features of Indian pronominal suffixes :

1. They are used with reference to past participles.
2. They constitute a second pronominal reference.
3. When used with nouns they function as possessives.
4. They have certain phonological peculiarities.
5. They are often repeated.
6. In full forms, their constituents may be : prefix+pron, suffix+past stem.

Grierson's data show that the second type of pronominal suffixes in the above list are a frequent occurrence in Kāshmīrī and Sindhī, as the material illustrated presently will show, but the third item can concern only a few Indian languages like Sindhī.

3. *Muṇḍā treatment of pronominal suffixes*

The elaborate treatment of pronominal suffixes in Muṇḍā

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1. Cf. op. cit. pp. 933, 928-29, 933.
2. Cf. Royen, op. cit., p. 890.
3. Cf. *Indian and historical grammar*, (1965), pp. 41-42.



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reveal as interesting urge on the part of certain speech communities for expressing both the subject and the object as being incorporated with the verb, the relationship being thus emphatically manifested.

The Muṇḍā languages like Santālī have shown the incorporating mechanisms very impressively, as the following data will show :

(*a*) *Unavoidability of pronominal suffixes : subject*

In Santālī verbs do not change for person. The person of the subject is, however, in the case of the animate beings indicated by means of pronominal suffixes ; thus *dal-et'-a e* 'he strikes' (cf. IV. 49).

(*b*) *Treatment of direct and indirect objects*

If the action of the verb has an indirect or direct object, this must be indicated in the verb by means of the pronominal infixes, which must be inserted between the inflexional base and the categorical *a*, or, if an auxiliary verb is added, between it and the inflexional base. Thus, *dal-ked-e-tae-a* '(he) struck-him-his, he struck him who belonged to him'.

4. *Pronominal suffixes in Indo-Aryan*

Indo-Aryan languages using pronominal suffixes can be divided into three categories :

(*a*) Pronominal suffixes are added only to the verbs, as in Kāshmīrī and Pañjābī.

(*b*) Pronominal suffixes are added to the verbs and nouns, as in Lahndā.

(*c*) Pronominal suffixes are added to the verbs, nouns and also to postpositions as in Sindhī.

(*a*) *Pronominal suffixes in Kāshmīrī*

In Kāshmīrī, as in Muṇḍā, the pronominal suffixes are affixed to the verb. But this affixation is not compulsory in Kāshmīrī e.g. the subject may be written in full, as in *mĕ wucch$^{u}$*, 'I saw', or

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it may be indicated by a pronominal suffix, as in *wucchum*. Moreover, both the subject and the pronominally suffixed form can stand together, as in *mĕ wucchum* (cf. VIII. ii. 316). Grierson states that Kāshmīrī has no pronominal suffixes for the third person in nominative case. But the material available with the present writer shows that pronominal suffixes for the third person nominative case are in use in Kāshmīrī. Cf. the following :

*vönnas*, 'he said to him[1], the second *n* being the nominative pronominal suffix ; *hitun* 'he has begun'[2] *waṭṭa ditun* 'he laid a change'. According to Grierson, *n* in these examples will be in the oblique case, which he calls 'accusative'[3] but syntactically it functions in the sense of the nominative.

(*b*) *Pronominal suffixes in Pañjābī*

In Pañjābī the use of pronominal suffixes is limited only to the Mājhī dialect and that too on the extreme western side. The pronominal suffixes are met with only in the past tense, in the third person of transitive verbs, e.g. '*ākhios*', 'he said', '*ākhine*', 'they said'.

(*c*) *Pronominal suffixes in Lahndā*

As stated above the pronominal suffixes in Lahndā are attached to the nouns and verbs. They are employed in exactly the same way as in Persian and Hebrew and can be used for any case, e.g. pronominal suffix attached to a noun is *ghar-am*, '(it is) my house', lit. 'a house (is) to me', and attached to a verb is *mārea-m* 'struck by me', lit. 'I struck'.

(*d*) *Pronominal suffixes in Sindhī*

(i) Unlike Pañjābī, Lahndā and Kāshmīrī, pronominal suffixes in Sindhī are affixed not only to nouns and verbs but to post positions as well, e.g. *sandume* 'of me, my'.

(ii) *Identity of first person suffix in Kāshmīrī, Sindhī and Lahndā*

All the three languages have the identical pronominal suffix *-m*

1. Cf. *gar vjazmāb*, by Daya Ganju, (Samvat, 1980), p. 23.
2. Cf. *Sac kahəvötu*, by Nand Lal Kaul, p. 18.
3. Cf. LSI VIII. ii. 313.

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which occurs in Persian as well. We have Sindhī, *māryum*, Kāshmīrī, *môrum*, Lahndā, *mārea-m* all the three meaning, 'I struck'.

5. *Pronominal suffixes/prefixes in Tibeto-Burman*

(i) The Tibeto-Burman dialects in which pronominal suffixes/prefixes are used can be divided into three categories :

(*a*) Where pronominal prefixes are used,—Kuki Chin Group of dialects.

(*b*) Where pronominal suffixes are used,- complex pronominalized Himalayan dialects.

(*c*) Where both pronominal suffixes and prefixes are used,—some dialects of Eastern sub-group of complex pronominalized Himalayan dialects, such as Limbu (cf. III. i. 285), Rāi (cf. III. i. 374), Thāmi (cf. III. i. 281) and Bahing (cf. III. i. 327).

In most of these dialects the verb is conjugated in person and number by means of these affixes, while in a few of them, such as Limbu they are added to the noun as well e.g. a suffix *in/n* is often added to a noun as an object and also as an indirect object; thus *ā-sā-n sīābā-n*, 'my son was dying' (cf. III. i. 285).

(ii) *Subject and object marked in the verb*

In some of the dialects such as Bāhing (cf. III. i. 331), Vāyū (cf. III. i. 386), and Limbu (cf. III. i. 289) the subject and object of the verb is marked by pronominal suffixes/prefixes, while in some others, such as Kanāshī (cf. III. i. 414), Dārmiyā (cf. III. i. 493), Kanāwarī (cf. III. i. 434) and Bunán (cf. III. i. 473), only the person of the subject is indicated by pronominal suffixes/prefixes.

(iii) *Pronominal suffix as a fraction of a full pronoun*

That in Tibeto-Burman a pronominal suffix tends to be a fraction of a pronoun could be illustrated from Manchātī *gye*, 'I', but pronominal suffix -g, cf. *teng-bo-g*, 'I strike' (cf. III. i. 456).

6. *Pronominal suffixes in Dravidian*

The pronominal suffixes are not necessary for the conjugation

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of Dravidian verbs and they are very often dropped in common speech. In Malayaḷam they are never used (cf. IV. 295).

Nouns of agency are very commonly used as verbs. They are then inflected in person and number by means of pronominal suffixes, especially in Telugu, Gōṇḍī and other dialects. In Tamil this is only the case in literary dialect (cf. IV. 294).

Pronominal suffixes occurring frequently in Dravidian are shortened forms of pronouns proper, as is the case in Tibeto-Burman. But in their present stage of evolution, they do not strike one as being so. In some contexts in their different forms full pronouns can be easily noticed in correlates like Tamil *villan=villavan*, 'bowman', the former with the pronominal suffix- *an*, the latter with the full pronoun *avan*, 'that, he'.

7. *Pronominal suffixes in Iranian*

In Iranian pronominal suffixes are both used, with the nouns and verbs. But in Paṣḥtō and Ghalchah languages their use is restricted to verbs only.

In Balōchī these suffixes occur very commonly in forms of the third person (cf. X. 344).

Ōrmuṛī has evolved a very elaborate usage of pronominal suffixes. It has different suffixes for transitive and intransitive verbs, e.g.- *am* for the former, and *-at* for the latter (cf. X. 145). A notable feature is the use of these suffixes with 'is' as a copula and 'is' in the sense of existence. In an utterance like 'A' is 'B', the use of such suffixes is not necessary, but in 'he is here', these suffixes are indispensable (cf. X. 143).

## VERBS

57 1. *The essentials of a verb*

Grierson's data are an object lesson on the fluidity of the phenomenon of the verb as noticed in the languages of India, thus confirming the validity of linguistic experts who have for years advocated the importance of plasticity in the languages of the

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world in this context of the verbs. Jespersen[1] quoting Sweet calls verbs as being 'phenomenon words' which denote action process and state, although it is definitely correct, as Wundt quoted by Hirt[2] points out that in the vast majority of the languages of the world the contrast between the verb and the noun does not occur, both categories interchanging with each other.

Ancient Greece's topmost Grammarian Dyonysios held that the verb has either of the two basic characteristics, viz. action or the passive state under certain circumstances.[3] In ancient India, the first linguistic authority, Yāska read a processive feature in the verb, stating the verb to denote that 'state' (*bhāva-*) which has a preceeding and succeeding stage.[4] Patañjali discussing the essentials of *bhāva-* as denoted by the verb states that *bhāva-*, with reference to the verb, cannot express mere existence for even a nominal form like a 'tree', 'the waved leaf fig tree' has also an existence. So parallel to Yāska's preceeding and succeeding state as involved in the concept of a process, Patañjali explains *bhāva-* as that 'which is made to exist', *bhāva-* being an instrument of action.[5] Thus Yāska and particularly Patañjali, had definitely cognized the 'aspects of the verb'. The verb, therefore, according to ancient Indian authorities, did not essentially mean 'action' (क्रिया) but a process which determined an action.

2. *Two patterns of verbs*

Linguistic experts have characterised two patterns of verbs, finite and non-finite (called 'verbal').[6] Chief characteristic of the finite verb is personal endings. According to Jespersen[7] the

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1. *ib.* p. 86.
2. Cf. *Indogermanische Grammatik*, pt. IV, p. 84.
3. Cf. Steinthal, *Geschichte der sprachwissenschaft*, pt. II, (1891), p. 267.
4. I. 11 पूर्वापरीभूतं भावमाख्यातेनाचष्टे ।
5. On 1.3 1. भूवादयो धातवः, भवेद्विप्रतिषिद्धानां धातुसंज्ञा सिद्धा स्यात्, प्रातिपदिकानामपि तु प्राप्नोति, वृक्षः प्लक्ष इति । किं कारणम् ? एतान्यपि हि भवन्ति । एवं तर्हि कर्मसाधनो भविष्यति । भाव्यते यः स भाव इति । क्रिया चैव हि भाव्यते । स्वभावसिद्धं तु द्रव्यम् ॥
6. Cf. Brugmann, *Grundriss* II-3., pp. 1-4.
7. Cf. op. cit. p. 87.

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most important feature of the finite verb is that without it the sentence cannot be complete : 'the barking dog' is incomplete, but 'the dog barks' is complete.

According to Brugmann[1] forms of the finite verb are based on subject-predicate relationship. This concept is notably similar to that of Pāṇini, who states that in Sanskrit, the finite verb (लः) cccurs both with reference to the object and the subject in transitive verbs, but in intransitive verbs it occurs with reference to state.[2]

3. *The verb : its relations to other grammatical categories*

That the verb is intimately associated with several other grammatical categories such as the pronoun, the subject and the object in general is well known. Moreover, its close relationship with the noun indicates that it cannot be invariably separted from it. Thus, Prof. J. Lyons, writes 'the old approach to parts of speech which considered the difference between the noun and the verb to be fundamental, has its limitations.'[3] Grierson's data strongly support this view. In some of the Tibeto-Burman languages such as Ēmpēo (cf. III. ii. 414), and Kabui (cf. III. ii. 419), the boundary line between the verb and other parts of speech is undefined. From the conceptual point of view the fluidity of linguistic categories has to be admitted. It is in view of this that Jespersen states, "All the units we arrive at through our analysis of grammatical phenomena are at best symbols or shadowings of the innermost notional categories."[4]

It has been noticed that the pronoun (especially the pronominal suffixes) the subject and the object are closely related to the verb. It has been pointed out that in many systems of languages the pronouns and affixes are amalgamated with the verb, so that

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1. Cf. *ib*. p. 4.
2. ल: कर्मणि च भावे चाकर्मकेभ्य: (III. 4 69) cf. Kāśikā's comments : लकारा: कर्मणि कारके भवन्ति, चकारात् कर्तरि च। अकर्मकेभ्यो धातुभ्यो भावे भवन्ति ।
3. Cf. *Journal of Linguistics*, (1966), p. 212.
4. Cf. *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Ed. 14, article on grammar, p. 615.

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in Magahī and Maithilī the verb agrees both with the subject and the object (cf. V.ii 36).

4. *Conjugational system of the verb*

Grierson's data concern dialects rather than languages so that we miss therein the stereotyped conjugational systems of Sanskrit, Greek and Latin with their four conjugations.[1] Similar is the case of French.[2] Grierson's data show an enormous fluidity and range in Indian verbal conjugational system. Thus in Pūrūm (cf. III. iii. 266), verbs are conjugated, but not in person and number. In Kumaunī verbal terminations are added to participles, cf. janõ=Hindī jātā 'if I had gone' (cf. IX. iv. 132). In Gujarātī a notable feature has been mentioned (cf. IX. ii. 342) that the impersonal is conjugated with transitive verb as the base. On the other hand in Kuki Chin language the mere root of the verbal noun is used for conjugational purposes (cf. III. iii. 18).

**58 Diversity of conjugational systems**

The following specimens will give an idea of the diversity of conjugational systems in Indian languages :

1. *Conjugation on conceptual basis*

In the Tai-Group conjugation has a conceptual basis. Thus 'slept' is expressed as 'sleep-completion', and 'sleeps' is expressed as 'sleep-existence' (cf. II. 73).

2. Conjugation without any personal termination occurs in Malayāḷam (cf. IV. 357).

3. Noun +*th* is a characteristic of conjugation in Tibeto-Burman Lai (cf. III. iii. 122). Thus *fa*, 'child', *fath*, 'to breed'.

4. Impersonal formation is a characteristic of Kāshmīrī as *osun*, 'it was laughed by him' (cf. VIII. ii. 284).

5. *a*-conjugation and *i*-conjugation are common both to Sindhī and Marāṭhī (cf. VIII. i. 45). Thus, Sindhī *hal-andō*, 'going',

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1. Cf. Gilder Sleeve's *Latin grammar*, (1895), pp. 73-83.
2. Cf. De Fivas, *Grammaire des grammaires*, Ed 57. pp. 91-225.

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*mār-indō*, 'striking'; Marāṭhī *mārīt*, 'striking'; *uṭhat*, 'arising' (cf. VII. 26).

6. Infixation of subject and object in the verb is common to Maithilī and Magahī dialects of Bihārī and Muṇḍā languages (cf. V. ii. 36).

7. Reduplication is frequent mechanism of conjugation in the Muṇḍā languages Santālī and Kūrkū (cf. IV. 172).

8. For conjugation by pronominal suffixes, see § 56.

9. Addition of an additional pronoun as a suffix, if the subject is of the first or the second person, in the Tibeto-Burman dialect Dhīmāl, indicates that this dialect has a subconscious concept of strictly personal pronouns, the third person being basically a demonstrative pronoun (cf. III. i. 278).

10. In Telugu various tenses are formed by adding the personal terminations to the different participle forms.

11. The passive conjugation in Lahndā and Sindhī considerably resembles, both having an organic passive, as in Lahndā *marīwan* 'to be struck', Sindhī, '*mārijaṇ*" 'to be struck' (cf. VIII. i. 236).

12. Maithilī conjugation shows three forms of verbal conjugation, depending upon the status of the subject and the object (cf. V. ii. 80).

13. Kumaunī shows two conjugations, transitive and intransitive as in Western Hindī and Pañjābī. The transitive past is impersonal, e.g. *mãil karī* 'I did' (cf. IX. iv. 150).

## TENSES IN THE VERBAL SYSTEM

59 According to Aristotle, as Wackernagel[1] has pointed out 'the characteristic of the verb proclaims time', thus attributing to the verb tense as being its topmost feature. This concept of the tense may be correctly applicable to certain languages, but

1. Cf. *Vorlesungen über syntax*, Vol. I (1926), p. 149.



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cannot be accepted as a universal quality of human language. For, as Jespersen[1] has pointed out, "the idea of time is naturally associated with that of action or happening. But while the natural division of past, present and future is quite simple, mankind has not found correspondingly simple grammatical expression for time." Moreover, as F. R. Palmer[2] has shown, activity is the basic quality of the verb. The verb may be considered from two points of view viz. progressive and non-progressive. The progressive form indicates activity with duration. The non-progressive merely reports activity, without indicating that it has duration.

Ancient Indian view in this connection has been already shown as being the 'aspects of the verb', somewhat parallel to Palmer's view explained above. Moreover, Pāṇini's sūtra about the basic nature of the finite verb 3.4.49 (लः कर्मणि च भावे चाकर्मकेभ्यः) mentions only activity (कर्मणि) and state as being the essentials of a verb, time being excluded from the basic characteristic of a verb. Moreover Pāṇini's treatment of time concerns only suffixes required for word-building (beginning from भूते, 3.2.84), beginning with forms like अग्निष्टोमयाजी 'he who performed sacrifices in the past'. In this series, Pāṇini's concept of the so-called 'present tense' is only the suffix लट् added to a verbal root in the sense of the present (वर्तमाने लट्, 3.2.123). The verb proper is only the activity or state, as mentioned above, according to Pāṇini.

## CATEGORIES OF TENSE

Regarding categories of tense, Grierson's data can be considered under two main heads :

I. Languages which have three way distinction, i.e. between present, past and future.

II. Languages which have two way distinction, i.e. between (i) present-past : future and (ii) present-future : past.

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1. Cf. *Encylopaedia Britannica*, Ed. 14, article on grammar, p. 614.
2. Cf. *A linguistic study of the verbs*, (1966), p. 61.

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Broadly speaking Indo-Aryan, Dravidian and Muṇḍā fall under the first category, while Tibeto-Burman and Iranian under the second category.

1. *Indo-Aryan*

With the exception of some of the Dardic languages, all Indo-Aryan languages have three tenses, viz. present, past and future. Dardic languages such as Kalāshā (cf. VIII. ii. 73), Tirāhī (cf. I. i. 287), Khō-wār (cf. VIII. ii. 137), and Brōkpā of Dras (cf. VIII. ii. 194) show distinction only between present-future and past.

2. *Dravidian*

Most of the Dravidian languages, namely, Tamil (cf. IV. 313), Kaikāḍī (cf. IV. 335), Burgaṇḍī (cf IV. 343), Malayāḷam (cf. IV. 357), Kanarese (cf. IV. 372), Kurukh (cf. IV. 415), Māltō (cf. IV. 449), Gōṇḍī (cf. IV. 482) and Brāhūī (cf. IV. 624) show a three way distinction while the distinction in Kui (cf. IV. 462) and Kōlāmī (cf. IV. 562) and Telugu (cf. IV. 589) is only two way i e. present-future : past.

3. *Muṇḍā*

Excepting four Muṇḍā dialects Nahālī (cf. IV. 186), Khaṛiā (cf. IV. 195), Savara (cf. IV. 220), and Gadabā (cf. IV. 231) where there is a two way distinction between present-future : past, in other dialects three tenses are distinguished.

4. *Tibeto-Burman*

The majority of the Tibeto-Burman languages have only two categories. Only a few of them have the three tenses.

(*a*) Languages which distinguish between future : non-future (past and present) :

Kuki-Chin and Assam Groups, Western Nāgā Sub-Group, Lepcha (cf. III. i. 239), Rāi (cf. III. i. 377), Aka (cf. III. i. 578), Abor-Mirī and Daflā (cf. III. i. 596), Ēmpēo (cf. III. ii. 414), Kabui (cf. III. ii. 419), Sopvomā (cf. III. ii. 456) and Tāngkhul (cf. III. ii. 466).

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(*b*) Languages which distinguish between Present-future : past :

Central dialect (cf. III. i. 76), Kāgate (cf. III. i. 107), Murmi (cf. III. i. 192), Sunwār (cf. III. i. 201), Māgarī (cf. III. i. 209) Nēwārī (cf. III. i. 218), Pahrī (cf. III. i. 229), Thāmī (cf. III. i. 281), Limbu (cf. III. i. 288), Khambu (cf. III. i. 320), Bahing (cf. III. i. 333), Vāyū (cf. III. i. 389), Rangkas (cf. III. i. 482) and the languages of Eastern Nāgā sub-group.

(*c*) Languages which distinguish between present, past and future :

Tibetan (cf. III. i. 28), Baltī (cf. III. i. 36), Purik (cf. III. i. 44), Ladākhī (cf. III. i. 56), Sharpa (cf. III. i. 115) languages of Bodo group and Central Nāgā sub-group, Lhōke (cf. III. i. 131), Gurung (cf. III. i. 185), Ḍānjong-kā (cf. III. i. 121), Dhīmāl (cf. III. i. 278).

5. *Iranian*

While Paṣhtō (cf. X. 20) and Ōrmuṛī (cf. X. 153), make distinction between all the three tenses, Balōchī (cf. X. 354) and Ghalchah (cf. X. 460) languages show distinction between present, future and past.

## MECHANISM OF TENSE FORMATION

60 1. *Tibeto-Burman*

Tenses are formed by adding prefixes or suffixes or sometimes both to the root.

2. *Muṇḍā*

In Santālī and most of the Muṇḍā dialects various tenses are formed by suffixing certain elements to the unchanged root. The reality of the action is further denoted by suffixing the categorical *a*, which at once changes the inflexional base to a definite tense (cf. IV. 45).

3. *Dravidian*

In Dravidian various tenses are formed by adding suffixes. Use of participle forms is frequent. Auxiliary verbs are also used.

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4. *Indo-Aryan and Iranian*

For the formation of tenses, besides the regular conjugational forms, formed with the aid of suffixes, verbal derivatives such as participles and auxiliary verbs are also used as in Dravidian.

## PRESENT SUBJUNCTIVE

61 The term Present Subjunctive, used by Grierson, is rather ambiguous ; perhaps it was coined to indicate the present base of its structure. In modern linguistics several aspects of the subjunctive have been specified, as presumptive concessive, contingential, potential etc. But possibly Grierson's background of European languages led him to use the 'present subjunctive', for Latin had three types of subjunctive, viz. present, perfect and future.[1] French has four, present, imperfect, preterite and pluperfect.[2] So has Spanish.[3]

Grierson's data show that in most of modern Indo-Aryan languages, the old present functions either as subjunctive or future, or both as in the following languages :

Sindhī (cf. VIII. i. 63), Sirājī of Ḍōḍā (cf. VIII. ii. 446), Rāmbanī (cf. VIII. ii. 472), Western Hindī (having only one tense for both present and subjunctive), Kanaujī (cf. IX. i. 85), Baghāṭī (cf. IX. iv. 503), Gādī as *mārī̃*, *mārẽ*, 'I may strike' or 'I strike'. In Kāshmīrī it generally has the force of a future as in *bŏh wuchha*, 'I shall see'.

## AUXILIARIES

62 Although auxiliaries are a special feature of New Indo-Aryan and Dravidian, the related languages of antiquity had also some elementary beginnings thereof. Pāṇini noticed the use of the Auxiliary verbs अस्, भू and कृ in the formation of the perfect tense used in his times,[4] although it is unknown to the Vedic Saṁhitās.

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1. Cf. *Gildersleeve*, pp. 171-73.
2. Cf. *De Fives*, p. 127.
3. Cf. Harner, *A manual of modern Spanish*, p. 514.
4. Cf. 3. 1. 40, कृञ्चानुप्रयुज्यते लिटि ।

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Wackernagel[1] has shown how passive formations in Sanskrit led to the use of auxiliaries, cf. Sanskrit equivalent for 'I am unable to do' मया कर्तुं न शक्यते. Although the active correlative was also current, the preference was, in such contexts, for the passive one. The greatest contribution of auxiliaries in our verbal system, as appears from Grierson's data, is the function to represent the enormous shades of the aspects of a verb. Hindī *jātā hai*, 'goes', is indefinite, but *jā rahā hai*, 'is going' is definite; both these shades have been given in these utterances by auxiliaries.

Another thrilling feature of auxiliaries consists of the vast varieties of phonological phenomena due to sound contact. Thus in some dialects of Hindī 'is going' is rendered as *jāyā kartā hai* but in Ḍōgrī it is rendered as *jaardā*, *k* being dropped, due to Ḍōgrī accent variations of auxiliaries.

Indo-Aryan and Dravidian languages vary as to the use of auxiliaries. Thus, in Sindhī, auxiliaries are used with the old present to give the sense of the present tense (cf. VIII. i. 82). Similarly in Magahī (cf. V. ii. 36).

In Rājasthānī and Hindī, on the other hand, auxiliaries are used with the old present to give the sense of definite present (cf. IX. ii. 13).

*Mechanism of auxiliaries*

The widest used mechanism of auxiliaries in New Indo-Aryan is various forms of the verb substantive. Thus Western Pahāṛī has *hō*, (cf. IX. iv. 381), Naipālī *chha* and *hō* (cf. IX. iv. 31), Hindī and Pañjābī have *hai*, (cf. IX. i. 631), but by far the widest mechanism is the *chha-* form, extending from Bengal to Kashmir. This form is also met with in Rājasthānī and Gujarātī. It has been connected by Prof. Turner with Ṛgveda *ā́kṣeti* 'abides'.[2]

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1. Cf. *Vorlesungen*, Vol. I, p. 149.
2. Cf. '*Comparative dictionary of the Indo-Aryan languages*, No. 1031.

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## THE INFINITIVE AND THE VERBAL NOUN

63 The status of a 'mood' bestowed upon the infinitive by Western grammarians of the 19th century, has been questioned by linguistic experts of the day. Wackernagel[1] refers to Bopp, who said that the infinitive was not originally a verb, but a noun form. Pāṇini includes the Sanskrit infinitive in *-ana* among primary verbal derivatives characterising it with the neuter gender with a sense of 'state' (3. 3. 115 ल्युट् च (नपुंसके भावे). Thumb[2] connects the Sanskrit *-ana*, reflected in the parallel suffix in Hindī *jānā*, 'to go', *khānā*, 'to eat, with the suffix *-na* (as in Sanskrit *praśna*, 'question,' German, *Fragen*), being an extension thereof.

### (*a*) *Indo-Aryan*

*The infinitive as a verbal noun*

According to Beames[3], "the infinitive is in all (the Indo-Aryan) languages, a verbal noun declined throughout all the cases of the noun."

In most of the Indo-Aryan languages the infinitives and verbal nouns have the common terminations. Bengali and Lahndā are an exception :

| | *verbal noun* | *infinitive* |
|---|---|---|
| Bengali | -ā, ibā, an | -itē |
| Lahndā | -ṇā | -uṇ |

*Infinitive and verbal noun in Oṛiyā*

According to Grierson, 'the Oṛiyā grammar does not know the infinitive mood at all. In this respect Oṛiyā is in an older stage of grammatical development than even the classical Sanskrit' (cf. V. ii. 368).

The 'infinitive mood' ascribed to classical Sanskrit, however, may be questioned. The Sanskrit infinitive was definitely a noun, with neuter gender.

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1. Cf. *Volesungen*, Vol. I, p. 258.
2. Cf. *Handbuch des Sanskrit*, p. 415.
3. Cf. *Comparative grammar of the modern Aryan languages*, (1966), Vol. 3, p. 234.

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However, Oṛiyā has a complete list of verbal nouns. We have three forms : *dēkhibā*, 'seeing (in the future) ; *dēkhila*, 'see (in the past) ; *dēkh*, *dēkhan* 'seeing (in the present)' (cf. V. ii. 381).

The four types of terminations used in the formation of infinitives/verbal nouns may be illustrated as follows :

1. *n-type*

   *-na/ṇa* : Hindī, *jānā*, 'to go' ; Pañjābī (cf. IX. i. 631). Sirmaurī Dhārṭhī (cf. IX. iv. 465), Baghāṭī (cf. IX. IV. 501).

   *-ṇo* : Gaṛhwālī (cf. IX. iv. 288), Sirājī of Ḍōḍā (cf. VIII. ii. 444).

   *-uṇ/un* : Lahndā *māruṇ* 'to strike' (cf. VIII. i. 265), Kāshmīrī, *wuchhun*, 'to see', (cf. VIII. ii. 286).

   *-nu/ṇu* : Naipālī (cf. IX. iv. 33), Kiūṭhalī (cf. IX. iv. 569).

   *-ṇū* : Bhadrawāhī and Bhaḷēsī (cf. IX. iv. 893).

   *-ṇ̃ē* : Marāṭhī (cf. VII. 31).

   *-aṇ$^{u}$/iṇ$^{u}$* : Sindhī (cf. VIII. i. 48).

   *-ōnō/nō* : Brōkpā of Drās (cf. VIII. ii. 196).

2. *b-type*

   *-ab* : Maithilī (cf. V. ii. 28), Bhōjpurī *dēkhab*, 'to see, the act of seeing' (cf. V. ii. 52).

   *-bā* : Maithīli (cf. V. ii. 28).

3. *k-type*

   *-èk:* : Ōrmuṛī (cf. X. 155).

   *-ōiki/ōik/ōk* : Khō-wār (cf. VIII. ii. 137), Pashai (cf. VIII. ii. 96), Gilgitī (cf. VIII. ii.161).

   *-īk/ik/k* : Kalāshā (cf. VIII. ii. 73).

   *-inik/nik* : Wasī-veri, *pesumtinik*, 'to beat' (cf. VIII. ii. 62)'

4. *st-type*

   *-stā* : Wai-alā ; *viyũ-sta*, 'to strike' (cf. VIII. ii. 50).

   *-sth/st* : Bashgalī (cf. VIII. ii. 39).

   *-ste/sta* : Brōkpā of Dah and Hanu, *kutistē*, 'to strike' (cf. VIII. ii. 217).

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Dardic Tōrwālī or Tōrwālāk has three forms of the infinitive. Of the verb *kudūsa* 'to beat', the present infinitive is *kudūsa*, 'to strike', past infinitive is *kudūsa aṣhū*, 'to have struck', and future infinitive is *kud bādūi*, 'to be about to strike' (cf. VIII. ii. 515).

2. *Dravidian*

According to Caldwell[1], the true Dravidian infinitive is a verbal noun capable of being declined. Nevertheless, inspite of its definitely nominal form, the infinitive can sometimes function as a verb, i.e. it can govern a noun, e.g. 'to read a book', will be rendered in Tamil *putthkattai kaṭittal*.

As in Indo-Aryan, in many of the Dravidian languages also verbal nouns and infinitives have the same forms. The following are some of the terminations used in their formation :

Gōṇḍī : *ā* ; *kiā*, 'to do' (cf. IV. 484), Kurukh : *nā* ; *esnā* 'to breaking, to break' (cf. IV, 415), Malayāḷam : *-ga* ; *nalguga*, 'to give' (cf. IV. 357).

3. *Tibeto-Burman*

In most of the Tibeto-Burman languages, the verb is properly a verbal noun. The base itself is freely used as a noun. As a consequence it is difficult to distinguish between what we might call participles and verbal nouns. As in the case of other linguistic families the infinitives and the verbal nouns have the same forms in most of the languages.

In a large number of Tibeto-Bruman languages, such as Purik (cf. III. i. 44), Lhoke (cf. III. i. 132), Lepcha (cf. III. i. 240), Vāyu (cf. III. i. 394), Rangkas (cf. III. i. 483), Paitē (cf. III. iii. 83), Khamī (cf. III. iii. 353), base alone is used as a verbal noun, infinitive, while in others suffixes are used ; thus, in Yākhā, suffix *-mā* is used, *wā-mā*, 'to live', (cf. III. i. 309).

Tibeto-Burman languages Maring (cf. III. ii. 473) and Shō or

1. *Comparative grammar of Dravidian Languages*, p. 533.



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Khyang (cf. III. iii. 339), use prefixes for the purpose ; Shö uses prefix *a-*, thus *ā- lō*, 'the coming'.

4. *Iranian*

In most of the Iranian languages also the infinitive is a verbal noun. In Paṣhtō it is formed by adding *-ag* (East, *-ay*) to the present base. Thus, *kush- ag* (East, *k'ush- ay*) 'to kill, the act of killing' (cf. X. 353).

In many of the languages the termination is *-k* with various linking vowels as in the case of some of the Dardic languages, thus :

Zebākī -āk (cf. X. 492), Ishkāshmī *-uk* (cf. X. 507), Ōrmaṛī *-yēk* (cf. X. 153). In Paṣhtō infinitives end in *al*, *ēdal* and *wal* (cf. X. 21).

## PARTICIPLES

**64** According to Wackernagel[1] the participle is a Latin translation of the Greek word *metochē* 'participation' and implies a term which partakes of the nature both of the verb and the adjective. In another passage Wackernagel explains the specific function of the participle. It concerns accessory actions or processes which precede or follow the core of a sense, often functioning as an adverb. As regards the difference between participle and tense forms, Webster points out that participle forms refer to time or happening rather than the state of action. But here it should be noted that happening in this respect is much more important than time. For modern studies[2] in the aspects of the verb definitely show that progressive action, being the characteristic feature of a verb from dynamic point of view, although inseparably associated with time, being a 'happening', must be the leading concept underlying the participle. 'The progressive indicates activity with duration.' 'He was walking to the station'. In this latter instance attention is drawn to its durational aspect'. But the happening, the activity, though

1. *Vorlesungen über syntax*, Vol, I, (1926), p. 16.
2. Cf. F. R. Palmer, *A linguistic siudy of the English verb*, (1961), p. 61.

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occurring *in time*, is the nucleus of the whole statement, irrespective of time.

*Origin of the Participle*

Steinthal[1] cites an interesting proposition from the ancient Latin grammarian Priscianus that as the verb by virtue of person could be associated only with the nominative, in the event of the occurrence of other cases in the sentence, the need of a participle arose, if that participle had semantically some relationship with some oblique case. It is an interesting suggestion, but Grierson's data on Santālī do not seem to confirm it. The data indicate that even in this case a language can adopt some other mechanism. In Indo-European according to Brugmann,[2] 'the adjective must have preceded the participle. For instance the *-to* of past participle may be traced to an earlier adjectival *-t*.

*The nominal structure of the past participle termination*

The *tvā* of the Sanskrit conjunctive participle which has been evolved into *tha* in Kāshmīrī may be taken as a fossilized instrumental singular of nouns in *-tu* like *dhātū-vastū*, according to Thumb.[3]

*Participle and conjugational forms in Vedic Sanskrit*

The extension of the participle in the verbal system in Indian languages, particularly in Indo-Aryan and Dravidian is well known. Hirt[4] noticed the formation of tenses from participles in traces in Vedic Sanskrit, e.g. the Aorist *ámṛta*, 'he died'; but participle *mṛta-* Pāṇini associates the participle more with cases than with the verb. Thus he says that a participle is associated either with nominative (कर्त्तरिकृत् 3. 4. 67) or with the object (तयोरेवकृत्यक्तखलर्थाः, 3. 4. 70) or state.

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1. Cf. op. cit., p. 307.
2. Cf. II². 1. p. 650.
3. Cf. *Handbuch des Sanskrit*, p. 431.
4. Cf. op. cit., p. 102.

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## Present Participle

1. *Indo-Aryan*

The term present participle is a misnomer, for its sense is progressiveness, irrespective of any time. Cf. Hindī, *voh chaltā hai*, 'he walks', *voh chaltā thā*, 'he walked', *voh chaltā hogā*, 'he will be walking'. The more proper terms should be durative or still better, progressive participle, referring to the progressiveness of the action, having nothing to do with any particular time necessarily.

In most of the Indo-Aryan languages, such as Hindī, Pañjābī, Lahndā and Sindhī present participle functions as an element of the definite tense. Thus in Lahndā we have *marēndā hã̄* (*ã̄*), 'I am striking' (cf. VIII. i. 263). In Bhīlī of Ali Rajpur the present participle, with the addition of the suffix *lō*, is used as a present definite and an imperfect. Thus, *mẽ̃ mārat$^{a}$lō*, 'I am striking, I strike', *khāt$^{a}$lā*, 'they were eating' (cf. IX. iii. 51).

In Sindhī future tense is formed by suffixing the pronominal suffixes of the nominative to participle. Thus, *halandus$^{e}$*, 'I shall go' (cf. VIII. i. 65).

In Kāshmīrī five verbal forms, viz. present indicative, imperfect indicative, durative future indicative, durative imperative and durative past conditional are formed with the help of present participle (cf. VIII. ii. 295).

In Dardic dialect *Bashgali*, the present participle is also a noun of agency and a relative participle supplying the place of a relative pronoun, like what we find in Indo-Chinese and Dravidian. Thus, *shū awēl manchī ayō*, 'the news bringing man (i.e. the man who brought the news) came' (cf. VIII. ii. 37).

Dardic dialect Khō-wār (cf. VIII. ii. 137), adds *-a* to the infinitive to form the present participle ; thus, *gánika*, 'taking'.

The following are the three main types of terminations used to form the present participle :

(*a*) *t-type*

*-ta* : Hindustānī (cf. IX. i. 57), Churāhī (cf. IX. iv. 825). Paṅgwāḷī (cf. IX. iv. 853).

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*-tō* (to) : Mārwāṛī (cf. IX. ii. 26), Bāgṛī (cf. IX. ii. 152), Mēwātī (cf. IX. ii. 47), Mālvī (cf. IX. ii. 57), Gujarātī (cf. IX. ii. 342).

*-at* (*it*) : Awadhī (cf. VI. 16), Chattisgaṛhī (cf. VI. 29), Marāṭhī (cf. VII. 31), Kanaujī (cf. IX. i. 85).

*-tū* : Bhadrawāhī and Bhaḷēsī (in neuter gender). (cf. IX. iv. 894)

*-itē* : Bengali (cf. V. i. 34).

*-ŏtē* : Assamese (cf. V. i. 403).

*-ait* : Maithilī (cf. V. ii. 23).

(*b*) *d-type*

*-dā* (*-ndā*) : Lahndā (cf. VIII. i. 263), Pañjābī (cf. IX. i. 631), Vernacular Hindustānī of Ambala (cf. IX. i. 240), Sirmaurī (cf. IX. iv. 465), Baghāṭī (cf. IX. iv. 502), Kuḷuī (cf. IX. iv. 676), Mandĕāḷī (cf. IX. iv. 724), Standard Chamĕāḷī (cf. IX. iv. 780).

*-do* : Naipālī (cf. IX. iv. 47), Gaṛhwālī (cf. IX. iv. 289).

*-andō* (*-indo*) : Sindhī (cf. VIII. i. 77).

(*c*) *n-type*

*-na* : Pāḍarī (cf. IX. iv. 907), Ḍōgrī (cf. IX. i. 645).

*-ano* : Kumaunī (cf. IX. iv. 133).

*-n* : Khasparjiā (cf. IX. iv. 187).

*-an* : Kāshmīrī (cf. VIII. ii. 286).

2. *Tibeto-Burman*

In most of the Tibeto-Burman languages participles are formed by adding suffixes to roots or verbal nouns (cf. III. i. 9, 28, 483).

3. *Iranian*

In Ōrmuṛī there is no present participle, but some of the functions of the present participle are performed by the noun of agency (cf. X. 155).

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In Balōchī the termination of the present participle is *an* (East, *āna*) (cf. X. 353).

## Past participle

As detailed above in some of the Indian languages past participles function as adjectives also, in addition to their verbal function, and in some cases terminations also differ. Thus in Indo-Aryan language Kumaunī the past participle may be either verbal or adjectival. The adjectival form of the past participle is employed as an independent adjective (cf. IX. iv. 147).

In many of the Indo-Aryan languages, such as Hindī, past participle is used in the formation of compound tenses such as present perfect, past perfect, contingent perfect, past contingent perfect and presumptive perfect. In Hindustānī the past indicative is simply past participle (cf. IX. i. 51).

In Ēmpēo Kachchā Nāgā and Bâṛâ languages of Tibeto-Burman past participle is used in the formation of the passive ; thus, in Bâṛâ, we have *zā-a-nū* 'to be become' (cf. III. ii. 17).

In Kāshmīrī three different kinds of past participles are provided in the conjugation of the verb. One a proximate past, indicating, something that has occurred, but without reference whether it has lately occurred ; another an indefinite past, indicating something that has occurred lately or not ; and a third, a remote past, indicating something that has occurred a long time ago. The terminations of these participles are, *u-mātrā*, *-yōv -yāv*, respectively (cf. VIII. ii. 302).

The leading suffixes used in the formation of this participle may be listed as follows :

1. *Indo-Aryan*

*-ā/yā* type : Assamese (*wā* also) (cf. V. i. 403), Awadhī (cf. VI. 16), Pañjābī (*ia* also) (cf. IX. i. 631), Bāṅgarū (cf. IX. i. 255), Dakhinī (cf. IX .i. 61), Hindustānī (cf. IX. i. 57), Bashgalī (cf. VIII. ii. 40), Sirmaurī Dharṭhī (cf. IX. iv. 465), Baghāṭī (cf. IX. iv. 502), Kiũṭhalī (or *õ*) (cf. IX. iv. 570) Manḍĕāḷī (cf. IX. iv. 724).

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*-ō/yo* type : Braj (*au, yau* also) (cf. IX. i. 81), Gujarātī (ēlō, ēl), (cf. IX. ii. 342), Mālvī (cf. IX. ii. 57), Mēwātī (cf. IX. ii. 47), Mārwāṛī(*iyō* also) (cf. IX. ii. 26), Sindhī (cf. VIII. i. 67), Kanaujī (cf. IX. i. 85), Bundēlī (cf. IX. i. 94), Jaunsārī (*ā* also) (cf. IX. iv. 395).

*-i/ī* : Oṛiyā (cf. V. ii. 381), Wasī-veri (cf. VIII. ii. 63), Khō-wār (cf. VIII. ii. 137).

*al/alā* : Maithilī (cf. V. ii. 28), Nāgpuriā Bhōjpurī (cf. V. ii. 281), Marāṭhī (*alēlā* also) (cf. VII. 31).

2. *Dravidian*

The participles are formed by adding different suffixes to the verbal root ; thus i.e. in Telugu suffix *-i* is added to form the past participle ; thus *koṭṭ-i*, 'striking' (cf. IV. 589).

## CAUSATIVES

65 The basic concept underlying causatives, according to Pāṇini was 'some one stimulating somebody to action' (तत्प्रयोजको हेतुश्च, 1. 4. 55). The doer under this act was a secondary phase of the actor. According to Brugmann, causatives in Indo-European, being *-éie, eio* formations, originated from denominatives, being related to nouns ending in *i*. It is interesting to note that Pāṇini as well connects the causative formative as an ultimate *i-* (ṇic-).

### The formation of causatives

1. *Indo-Aryan*

In Indo-Aryan, as Beames points out, the causative formation pertained to the structure of the stem, which generally involved ablaut.[1]

Grierson's data show that causatives are formed by adding

1. Cf. *Comparative grammar of the modern Aryan languages of India*, Vol. 3, p. 75 ff.

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some suffix to the root, which also undergoes some changes, as pointed out by Beames above.

The suffixes used for the purpose are as under :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *-ā* | : | Oṛiyā (cf. V. ii. 381), Lahndā (cf. VIII. i. 268), Hindustānī (cf. IX. i. 57), Pañjābī (cf. IX. i. 632), Jaipurī (cf. IX. ii. 173), Sirmaurī Girīparī (cf. IX. iv. 486), Baghāṭī (cf. IX. iv. 505), Mandĕāḷī (cf. IX. iv. 728), Chamĕāḷī (cf. IX. iv. 784), Gaṛhwālī (cf. IX. iv. 297), Kumaunī (cf. IX. iv. 151). |
| *-āw* | : | Bhōjpurī (cf. V. ii. 53), Braj (cf. IX. i. 81), Mārwāṛī (cf. IX. ii. 29), Gujarātī (*āḍ* also) (cf. IX. ii. 343), Kishtawāṛī (cf. VIII. ii. 381). |
| *-āu* | : | Naipalī (cf. IX. iv. 49). |
| *-anāw* | : | Kāshmīrī (cf. VIII. ii. 310). |
| *-al* | : | Pŏgulī, as in *khālalnu* 'to cause to eat, to feed' (cf. VIII. ii. 425). |
| *-er/ar* | : | Gilgitī (cf. VIII. ii. 166). |

In Marāṭhī causals are formed by adding *av/āv* to the root or by adding *vav/avav* to the roots not ending in long vowels and *h* (cf. VII. 31).

2. *Tibeto-Burman*

In Tibetan (cf. III. i. 30) the regular method of forming causals is to prefix *s*, g, *d* or *b* to intransitive bases, which begin with a soft consonant. Other causal verbs are formed by hardening the initial consonant of the intransitive base, with or without aspiration. In Bāhing (cf. III. i. 337) and Vāyū (cf. III. i. 394) also causals are formed by hardening the initial consonant.

In many of the Tibeto-Burman languages causals are formed by prefixing or suffixing different verbs to the main verbs i.e. in Simi or Sema (cf. III. ii. 227). Aimol (cf. III. iii. 217), Chiru (cf. III. iii. 230), the causals are formed by prefixing and in Hōjai (cf. III. ii. 64), Abor, Miri and Daflā (cf. III. i. 601) by suffixing.

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In Tipurā (cf. III. ii. 111)' Dimāsā (cf. III. ii. 58), Ēmpēo or Kachchā Nāgā (cf. III. ii. 415), Pūrūm (cf. III. iii. 267), and Kōch (cf. III. ii. 97), causals are formed by suffixing a verb which literally means 'to give'.

In Ladākhī (cf. III. i. 58) causals are formed by adding *chhuk-ches*, 'to put in', to the present base, *chha-chhuk-duk*, 'to make go, he makes go, he sends off'.

3. *Dravidian*

In Dravidian the stem of a causative does not undergo any transformation, but a formative is added to the stem. Cf. *anuppu-vi*, 'to make one send.'

Dravidian tradition does accept causals as a class. Beschi alone, as Caldwell[1] points out, takes Dravidian causative as a class by itself, calling this class *ēval vinei*, 'directive verb'.

In Tamil causatives are formed by adding *-ikkṟiu*, past *ittu*, future *-ippu*, to the future base and conjugating throughout (cf. IV. 313).

In Kanarese causal verbs are formed by adding *isu* to the final consonant of the base ; thus, *māḍisu*, 'cause to make' (cf. IV. 373).

4. *Muṇḍā*

In Santālī causatives are formed from both simple and reduplicated bases by adding *-ocho* ; thus, *dal- ocho*, and *dal-dal-ocho* 'to cause to strike' (cf. IV. 53)'

The causative has two meanings :

1. to cause somebody to do something.
2. to allow somebody to do something.

In the former the object infix *-ko-* is used, and in the latter the dative infix *-añ-*.

In Kurku causatives are formed by prefixing *a-* or by suffixing *-ki*. Thus, *nū*, 'to drink', *annū*, 'to give to drink' (cf. IV. 172).

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1. Cf. *A comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages*, p. 455.



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## THE PASSIVE VOICE

**66** Wackernagel[1] speaks of the passive as a luxury of human language, for the passive sentence does not show anything but the reverse of the normal active sentence. Moreover, he adds, many languages of the world have almost no passive sense.

But a little reflection will show that 'aspects of the verb' have played a very dynamic part in human language : the part played in the development of an action by various agents, to various degrees, has been noticed in many languages. Thus, Beck[2] points out that an action often shows various phases, e.g. reflexive, impersonal, passive etc.

Moreover, the various stages of human action as represented by Pāṇini 3. 1. 87 (कर्मवत्कर्मणा तुल्यक्रिया) have been noticed so that in certain phases of action differing in various degrees, there may be no role played by the actor, e.g. in the Sanskrit utterance 'wood is being broken' (भिद्यते काष्ठेन).

1. *Passive in New Indo-Aryan : two patterns*

There are two notable patterns of the passive in New Indo-Aryan, viz. synthetic and analytic (i) in the synthetic pattern no auxiliary is used, some formative being affixed. The most notable formatives are some forms of *i*, as Naipālī *ī-* (cf. IX. iv. 48), Lahndā *-ī* (cf. VIII. i. 267), Kumaunī *-ī* (cf. IX. iv. 151), Kumaunī 3rd sg. present tense *ĩ*, as in *karĩ*, 'is done'. Jaunsārī (cf. IX. iv. 399) and Kuḷuī have also *-i* (cf. IX. iv. 678). Allied to these *i* forms is Sindhī *-ij*, e.g. *marijē thō*, 'he is being struck' (cf. VIII. i. 75). Similarly in Mārwāṛī *-ij* (cf. IX. ii. 29) and Gilgitī *-īj* or *ij* (cf. VIII. ii. 166).

These various *i-* forms seem to be related to Sanskrit passive formative *y*, as pointed out by Pāṇini 3. 1. 67. (सार्वधातुके यक्).

In Bhojpurī passive voice is formed by adding *ā* to the root, thus, *dēkhaī-lā*, 'I can be seen' (cf. V. ii. 53).

In Oṛiyā also the passive is formed by conjugating the present verbal noun in *ā*, as in *dēkhā jāi*, 'I am seen' (cf. V. ii. 381).

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1. Cf. H. F. Beck, *Die Impersonalien*, (1922), p. 10.
2. *Vorlesungen*, Vol. I. p. 135.

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2. In the analytic pattern some auxiliary is used with the main verb. Some form of the verb *jā* 'to go' is used in Hindī and Pañjābī, the following such auxiliary parallels may be noted :

Sirājī of Ḍōḍā- *gisṇõ*, 'to go' (cf. VIII. ii. 450).

Pōgulī -*yiun*, 'to come' (cf. VIII. ii. 425).

Rāmbanī uses both the patterns to form the passive. It adds *ī* to the root, and conjugates with it the various parts of *gatshṇā* or *gasṇā*, 'to go' (cf. VIII. ii. 475).

In Gaṛhwālī (cf. IX. iv. 296), and Rāṭhī (cf. IX. iv. 319) the passive is formed by conjugating the past participle with the verb substantive.

In Kāshmīrī the passive is formed by conjugating the verb *yun*$^{u}$, with the ablative of the infinitive of the main verb (cf. VIII. ii. 309).

In Assamese the passive is formed by conjugating the past participle with *hā* or by conjugating the first verbal noun with *zā* (cf. V. i. 403).

In Gujarātī (cf. IX. ii. 343), there are three ways of forming the passive. It can be formed both from transitive and intransitive verbs. The passive of an intransitive is always impersonal.

First passive is formed by adding *ā* to the root, second by conjugating the past participle with *jawũ*, 'to go', as in Western Hindī.

Third with *āw*$^{a}$*wũ*, 'to come', and the locative of the infinitive. Thus, *ē wastu gōwā- mã āw*$^{a}$*śē*, 'this thing will come into seeing, will be seen.'

*Dravidian*

Caldwell states[1] that none of the Dravidian dialects possesses any passive particle or suffix or any means of expressing passivity by direct inflexional changes. According to Grierson also Dravidian languages, on the whole, are destitute of a passive voice (cf. IV. 296). His data show that only two Dravidian

1. Cf. op. cit. p. 462.

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languages, namely Kurukh (cf. IV. 416) and Brāhūī (cf. IV. 627) have regular passive conjugation. In Kurukh it is formed by adding *-r-* to the base ; thus, *esrnā*, 'to be broken', and in Brāhūī it is formed from a base identical with the verbal noun, formed by adding *-ing*. Thus, khan-ing-iv, 'I may be seen'.

In other languages there is no true passive. In Tamil the passive sense is expressed by adding the verb *paḍu*, 'suffer', to the infinitive.

In Kanarese it is formed by adding the verb *paḍu*, 'to experience', to the verbal noun in *-lu*, the final *-u* being dropped (cf. IV. 373)

In Māltō passive is formed by adding *uwr* or *ur* probably a form of the verb substantive to the base. Thus *baj- uwre*, 'to be struck'. This form is very commonly used reflexively.

*Tibeto-Burman*

In Balti (cf. III. i. 37), Purik (cf. III. i. 45), Ladākhī (cf. III. i. 58), Kanāwarī (cf. III. i. 438), Dārmiyā (cf. III. i. 495), and Byāngsī (cf. III. i. 522), passivity is sufficiently indicated by the absence of the case of the agent in the subject.

In Ēmpēo the passive is formed by the past participle of the verb followed by different tenses of *lā- rā*, 'to be' (cf. III. ii. 415).

In Ngentē, when the subject of a transitive verb is not distinguished by the suffix to the agent, the meaning becomes passive (cf. III. iii. 141).

In Khoirāo, in passive, the subject is put in accusative form, there being no other change. Thus, *hai-yō-wū-ē* 'I am beaten' (cf. III. ii. 427).

But in most of the Tibeto-Burman languages, there is no trace of the passive, e.g. the following languages show no passive whatsoever :

Tāngkhul (cf. III. ii. 467), Sopvomā (cf. III. ii. 458), Thādo (cf. III. iii. 68), Rāltē (cf. III. iii. 78), Hallām (cf. III. iii. 197), Anāl, (cf. III. iii. 277), Pūrūm (cf. III. iii. 267).

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*Iranian*

In Paṣhtō passive voice is formed by conjugating the past participle with the auxiliary verb *shw$^{a}$l*, 'to be' (cf. X. 21).

In the Western dialect of Balōchī passive voice is not in much use. To give the passive sense, the infinitive or the verbal noun, is sometimes used with the verbs *baiag*, 'to be', which is then conjugated throughout. On the other hand, in the Eastern dialect there are many methods of forming the passive voice. One is borrowed from Lahndā, in which *īj* is added to present base (cf. X. 361).

## THE NEGATIVE CONJUGATION

67 Although the term 'negative conjugation' could be correctly used only of an elaborate system. Caldwell[1] speaks of the 'negative voice' only with reference to Dravidian, when he says, "The negative voice has the characteristics of combination of a negative particle with a verbal stem", such a particle being used adverbially. Certain tendencies to this combination have been noticed by Wackernagel[2] in Old Latin e.g. Latin has *volo*, 'I wish', but *nolo*, 'I do not wish', and Wackernagel lays down as a general rule that the negative particle *ne-* in Latin was regularly combined with verbs signifying 'to wish' and with allied meanings. But in Latin we do not find a widely systematic negative conjugation.

1. *Negative conjugation in Dravidian*

The negative conjugation is the peculiarity of the Dravidian verb (cf. IV. 296). There are two main methods adopted by Dravidian in negative conjugation :

(*a*) The regular combination of a negative particle (e.g. *-ā-* in Tamil, *-ē-* in Telugu) with the verbal stem, e.g. Tamil *ali -ā*, 'not knowing'.

(*b*) The affixation of personal terminations directly to the stem e.g. Tamil *ali -ēn*, 'I do not know'.

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1. Cf. op. cit. pp. 469 ff.
2. Cf. *Vorlesungen* Vol. II, p. 250.

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On this latter item, Caldwell says, "In consequence of the absence of tense-signs, the verb is abstracted from the realities of the past, the present and the future".[1]

Now it is amazing that Brāhūī, although entirely cut off from all the other Dravidian languages, possesses negative conjugation comprising all tenses. In this language a negative verb is apparently added to the positive base and conjugated throughout (cf. IV. 626), while in Malayāḷam, the negative with *-a* is seldom used (cf. IV. 357).

Malto has combined both (1) and (2) detailed above by inserting the negation particle *l* and then conjugating (cf. IV. 451).

In Telugu the negative verb has only one conjugation. Thus, habitual present and future, *koṭṭa-nu*, 'I do not strike' (cf. IV. 589).

2. *Negative conjugation in Indo-Aryan*

Although Indo-Aryan cannot boast of the elaborateness of the negative conjugation of Dravidian, two tendencies may be noticed therein :

(i) *Negative conjugation proper*

In New Indo-Aryan, some languages use a 'negative verb' or modify certain elements of a verb when negation is expressed, e.g.

(*a*) In Koṅkaṇī the negative is effected by adding the various forms of the negative verb to the base, in the present and imperfect tenses, thus, *nida- nā*, 'he does not sleep', *nida -nānt*, 'they do not sleep' (cf. VII. 173).

(*b*) In Naipālī negative conjugation is confined to certain tenses (cf. IX. iv. 32).

(*c*) Grierson mentions the negative conjugation in Kumaunī (cf. IX. iv. 129). Researches of the present writer show

1. Cf. Caldwell, *A comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages*, pp. 468-69.

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that this dialect has evolved quite an elaborate system of grammatical negation as some other dialects of Western Hindī. The notable peculiarity of this system is that unlike the Dravidian system, which keep the stem intact, it modifies them. The following examples will give an idea of this system :

| | | | | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| Kumaunī | 'I do' | *mã̃ karu* | 'I do not do' | *mã̃ nã̃ karnā* |
| | 'I ate' | *mã̃l khā* | 'I did not eat' | *mã̃l nã̃ khai* |
| Ambālavī | 'I do' | *maĩ karũ* | 'I do not do' | *maĩ ni karda* |
| | 'I will go' | *maĩ jāũgā* | 'I will not go' | *maĩ nī jāne kā* |

(ii) *Incipient negative conjugation*

In New Indo-Aryan there are also traces of just a touch of negative conjugation, the negative particle being coalesced with some form of the verb substantive. It is, as if a 'verbalization' of the negative particle. Cf. the following :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Kuḷuī (Western Pahāṛī) | *nẽhāthī*, 'I am not' | for all persons and numbers (cf. IX. iv. 676). |
| Ḍāṅgī of Karauli | *nāne*, 'I am not' 'he is not' | ,, (cf. IX. i. 333) |
| Sodōchī (Western Pahāṛī) | *nēhĩ ainthī*, 'I am not' | ,, (cf. IX. iv. 656). |
| Lahndā | *nissũ*, 'I am not' (cf. VIII. i. 263). | |
| Thaḷī | Singular *nā hẽ*, 'is not', (cf. VIII. i. 386). Plural *nā hĩ*, 'are not' | |
| Baghāṭī | *nī hai*, 'I am not' (cf. IX. iv. 501). | |

In Lahndā and its dialect Thaḷī the negative conjugation shows a change of person and number.

3. *Negative conjugation in Tibeto-Burman*

In Tibeto-Burman a negative verb is formed by prefixing or suffixing a negative particle and conjugated in the same way as the positive (cf. III. ii. 390).

In Mikir the secondary root is formed in an exceptional manner, the syllable *nē* being added to the primitive as *un*, 'can',

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but *un-ē*, 'cannot', 'is unable'. But when the root begins with a consonant or a nexus of consonants, these are repeated before the added syllable, thus, *thēk*, 'see', *thèk-thē*, 'see not' (cf. III. ii. 390).

The languages of the Nāgā group use a form for the imperative negative different to that used in the ordinary conjugation of the negative verb. Thus, Angāmī *povormo*, 'he has not come', *vorhē*, 'don't come' (cf. III. ii. 212).

## SYNTAX

**68** Syntax, according to Chomsky,[1] is the study of the principles and processes by which sentences are constructed in certain languages. According to Wackernagel,[2] it was the great Greek grammarian Appolonis Dyskolos (about the 1st century A. D.) who handled the origin of syntax for the first time. According to this Greek authority, sentences, in the first instance, could arise from a juxtaposition of words, which led to predicative grouping and other aspects of the verbs.

But inspite of the antiquity in which interest for syntax arose, it must be admitted that concepts of syntax are yet far from being crystallized. Thus, even such an authority as Hirt[3] remarks, "I do not know what a sentence is, nor do I wish to know."

While treating of syntactical categories, Pāṇini emphasized the importance of the subject in a sentence (1. 4. 54 स्वतन्त्रः कर्ता) on the other hand, he spoke of the object as the best wished goal of the subject (1. 4. 49 कर्तुरीप्सिततमं कर्म) but in 3. 4. 69 he does accept mere state as the target of a sentence (लः कर्मणि च भावे चाकर्मकेभ्यः).

### 1. *Paucity of Syntactical data*

The material for the consideration of the Syntax in the LSI is rather meagre, as Grierson had only two texts to work upon.

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1. Cf. *Syntactical structures*, (1957), p. 11.
2. Cf. *Lectures on syntax*, (1926), pp. 1-2.
3. Cf. *Syntax* I, (1934), p. 71.

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Further many of the aspects of syntax have already been virtually treated by us in the preceding morphological section, in view of Grierson's scheme. Consequently, only a few items left over may be handled here.

2. *Syntactical position of words*

In N. I. A. languages excepting Kāshmīrī, the subject comes first, then the object or predicate, the last of all the verbs.

In Kāshmīrī, the verb precedes the predicate, as in Persian.

Thus, in Kāshmīrī they say :

*Suh chhuh gātul$^{u}$ mahanuv$^{u}$*,

'He is clever man', while in Hindī, they say :

*wŏh hŏšyār ādmi hai*,

'he clever man is' (cf. VIII. ii. 250).

The order of words in N. I. A. languages is also in agreement with the Dravidian principles (cf. IV. 281).

In Tibetan the usual order of words is subject, object (direct object+indirect object), verb.

In Khassi, a language of Mōn-Khmēr family the order is subject, verb and object (cf. II. 11).

In many of the Tibeto-Burman languages such as Ladākhī and Dänjong-kā (cf. III. i. 121), and Zahāo (cf. III. iii. 110), the adjectives follow the noun.

In all the Tai languages, a word performing the function of an adjective follows the word it qualifies (cf. II. 93).

In some of the Tibeto-Burman languages such as Manipurī (cf. III. iii. 27), Chiru (cf. III. iii. 228), Kolrēn (cf. III. iii. 236), and Anāl (cf. III. iii. 274), the numerals follow the noun they qualify.

3. *Concord of the verb with object*

In Gujarātī there is agreement of the transitive verb with the



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object in impersonal construction, and not with the subject as in Hindī, while in Hindī we have, *us ne rānī ko choṛā*, in Gujarātī *tēṇē raṇī nē mūkī*, 'he left the queen, lit. by him as for the queen, she was left' (cf. IX. ii. 332).

In Ḍāṅg-Bhāṅg dialect of Braj, as in Gujarātī, the verb is stated to be attracted by the gender of the object (cf. IX. i. 355).

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# VOL. I, PART I

## INTRODUCTORY

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# INTRODUCTION

69 The first attempt at a systematic survey of the languages of India was made in 1816 by W. Carey and other fellow-missionaries, giving 34 specimens of 33 Indian languages. The report which they prepared shows that the Dravidian languages, were not yet recognised as a separate family. Here they were looked upon as being just as much Sanskritic as Bengali or Hindi.

After Carey's Report, non-Aryan languages received the attention of scholars. The Indo-Chinese tongues were the first to receive attention. In 1937 a comparative study of Indo-Chinese languages was made by Brown, and in 1847 a comparative vocabulary of the sub-Himalayan dialects by Hodgson. Later on he gave comparative vocabularies of nearly all the Indo-Chinese languages spoken in India and the neighbouring countries, and of the Muṇḍā and the Dravidian forms of speech.

The earliest fruit of Hodgson's researches was Max Müller's letter to the Chevalier Bunsen, published in 1854. In this Max Müller established for the first time the existence of the Muṇḍā family of languages as an independent body of speech, apart from the Dravidian and gave it a name. Two years later in 1856, appeared Caldwell's comparative grammar of the Dravidian languages. Here for the first time a group of Indian languages was treated as a whole by a scholar who was at the same time a trained philologist.

In 1853 Perry, Chief Justice of Bombay, published his paper 'On the geographical distribution of the principal languages of India'. He divided the languages of India into two classes,—'the language of the intruding Arians, or Sanskritoid in the North, and the language of a civilised race in the South of India, represented by its most cultivated branch the Tamil. He gave brief descriptive accounts of the general characteristics of each language, and carefully indicated the habitat of each language.



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Another scholar, Stevenson, was studying at that time the interaction between Indo-Aryan and Dravidian language treating for the first time, the borrowings of Dravidian words by the different Indo-Aryan languages.

The two excellent works, Beames 'Comparative grammar of the Aryan languages of India' (1867) and Hoernle's 'Grammar of Eastern Hindi compared with the other Gaudian languages,' (1880) have since been the twin foundation of all researches into the origin and mutual relationship of the languages of the Indo-Aryan family of speech.

All this time, for many decades, grammars and vocabularies of individual forms of Indian speech had been issuing in considerable numbers. For the better known languages, such as Hindōstānī, Marāṭhī, or Bengali, they came out in scores, and it must be confessed that most of them were but labour wasted. In fact, so late as the year 1878 no one had as yet made even a catalogue of all the languages spoken in India, and the estimates of their numbers varied between 50 or 60 and 250. Dr. Cust made a brave attempt to put together such an inventory in that year, but his 'Modern Languages of the East Indies' inspite of all the industrious learning and acumen of its author, was confessedly a compilation of existing materials, and these materials were confessedly imperfect. Dr. Cust's work stimulated enquiry and for the first time Government, as well as European scholars, were enabled to see what little had been done and how much remained to be done.

In 1886 the Oriental Congress held at Vienna passed a resolution urging upon the Government of India to undertake 'a deliberate systematic survey of the languages of India.'

In 1894 preliminary details of a Linguistic Survey of India by the Government of India came under discussion. As regards the extent of the proposed survey, it was decided to exclude Madras, Burma, Hyderabad and Mysore from its operations, so that these would cover, from west to the east, Baluchistan, the North-West Frontier, Kashmir, the Panjab, the Bombay Presidency, Rajputana and Central India, the Central Provinces and Berar, the United Provinces of Agra and Oudh, Bihar and Orissa, Bengal

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and Assam. As regards the nature of the survey, it was decided that it was primarily to be a collection of specimens ; a standard passage was to be selected for purposes of comparison, and this was to be translated into every known dialect and sub-dialect. As this specimen would necessarily be in every case a translation and would, therefore, run the risk of being unidiomatic, a specimen was also to be called for in each case, being a piece of folklore or some other passage in narrative prose or verse, selected on the spot and taken down from the mouth of speaker. Subsequently a third specimen was added to the scheme—a standard list of words and test sentences originally drawn up for the Bengal Asiatic Society in 1866 and already widely used in India.

The specimens began to be received in 1897, and most of them were received by the end of 1900. The editing and collating of the specimens began in 1898. Several thousands of specimens were received. A mass from which to select was a desidratum. As each dialect was examined, a specimen or specimens of it were selected for publication. From the specimens a sketch of the grammar and other peculiarities was prepared. Dialects were then grouped into languages, and for each language an elaborate introduction was provided, describing briefly the salient points of the literature, when there was one ; supplying a bibliography and concluding with a sketch af the grammar.

Throughout the whole series of operations one thing has been steadily borne in mind, that these results were not to be bundles of theories, but collection of facts. The bearing of these facts, however, on theory may be illustrated here by an example. The Muṇḍā languages belong to Chota Nagpur and the centre of India. It is also a familiar fact that the languages spoken in the Himalaya, far to the north of these Muṇḍā languages, are Tibeto-Burman in character. But even here the survey shows us that there is a line of peculiar forms of speech, from Darjiling to the Panjab, that shows evident traces of a perviously existing language of the Muṇḍā family. which has been overlain, so to speak, the Tibeto-Burman. [LSI pp. 1-22]

70 *Language and dialect*

In the course of the survey, it has sometimes been difficult

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to decide where a given form of speech is to be looked upon as an independent language, or as a dialect of some other definite form of speech. In common use we may say that, as a general rule, different dialects of the same language are sufficiently alike to be reasonably well understood by all whose native tongue is that language, while different languages are so unlike that special study is needed to enable one to understand a language that is not his. But, mutual intelligibility cannot always be the deciding factor, for the consideration is obscured by the fact that between Bengal and the Panjab every individual who has received the very slightest education is bilingual. In his own home, and in his own immediate surroundings he speeks a local idiom, but in his intercourse with strangers he employs or understands some form of that great lingua-franca, Hindī or Hindōstānī. Moreover, over the whole of this vast area the great mass of vocabulary, including nearly all the words in common use is, allowing for variation of pronunciation, the same. And yet, when these dialects are studied from the philological point of view at once radical differences of idiom and construction come to light. Some of these dialects are as analytical as English,—others are as synthetic as German. Some have simplest grammar, while others have grammars more complicated than that of Latin, and hence in the Linguistic Survey, they have been sorted out, according to their grammatical system, into three groups, each of which is given the dignity of a language,—Bihārī, Eastern Hindī and Western Hindī.

There is another factor which exercises influence in this differentiation. It is nationality. There is an excellent illustration of this in Assamese. This form of speech is now admitted to be an independent language,—yet if merely its grammatical form and its vocabulary are considered it would not be denied that it is a dialect of Bengali. [LSI pp. 22-24]

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# GENERAL RESULTS OF THE SURVEY
## INTRODUCTORY

71 The survey gives estimates of the number of people speaking each language and dialect. These figures are ultimately based on the Census of 1891. The reason for the adoption of the Census of 1891 as the basis of the survey is that the latter began its operation in 1894. Only in the case of a few languages, principally those of the North-West Frontier, it was possible, for special reasons, to utilise the figures of the later Census of 1911.[1]

The survey has recorded 544 dialect-names in addition to the standard and unspecified forms of 179 languages. Of these 179, the highest number is that of Tibeto-Burman Languages, being 113, while Aryan languages are 38 and Dravidian 16.

The survey deals with languages spoken by about 290 million people. The following is a summary of the number of speakers for each linguistic family :

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Austric Family | 3,052,046 | |
| Tibeto-Burman Family | 1,984,512 | |
| Dravidian Family | 53,073,261 | |
| Indo-European Family | 231,874,403 | |
| Unclassed | 101,671 | |
| Total | 290,085,893 | [LSI pp. 25-28] |

*Philology and Ethnology.* Nowhere are there presented stronger warnings against basing ethnological theories on linguistic facts than in India. There are many instances of tribes which have in historic times abandoned one language and taken to another. A striking example is afforded by the tribe of Nahāls in the Central Provinces. These people appear to have originally

1. No reference to the number of speakers of individual dialects and languages has been made in the body of the Summary as they have become obsolete.



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spoken a Muṇḍā language akin to Kūrkū. It came under Dravidian influence, and has become a mixed form of speech, half Muṇḍā and half Dravidian. This, in its turn, has fallen under the spell of Aryan tongues, and is now in a fair way to becoming an Aryan language. If we were to judge by language, a hundred years ago we should have called the tribe Muṇḍā. Ten years ago it was quite possible to claim it as Dravidian, and fifty years hence it would probably be described as an Aryan case. In view of this, in the following pages so for as possible the questions of racial origin have not been discussed.

[LSI pp. 28-30]

72 *Tribal dialects.* Very frequently a tribe gives its name to a language, not because it is specially the language of the tribe, but because the tribe is an important one in the area in which it is spoken. Take, for example, the language which in the Census of 1891 was called 'Jaṭki' i.e. the language of the 'Jaṭṭ tribe'. But Jaṭki is not by any means the language of the Jaṭṭ tribe alone. It is the language of the whole of Western Panjab, in parts of which, it is true, Jaṭṭs preponderate. This name has, therefore, been abandoned in the Survey for Western Pañjabī and Lahndā. [LSI p. 30]

73 *Linguistic boundaries.* The identification of the boundaries of languages or even of a language itself, is not an easy matter. As a rule, unless they are separated by great ethnic differences, or by some natural obstacle, such as a range of mountains or a large river, Indian languages gradually marge into each other and are not separated by hard and fast boundary lines. When such boundaries are spoken of they must always be understood as conventional methods of sharing definitely a state of things which is in essence indefinite. On each side of the conventional line there is a border tract of greater or less extent, the language of which may be classed at will with one or other, e.g. the curious mixed dialect. Halabi, from the point of view of Eastern Hindī, was a form of Marāṭhī, but through Marāṭhī spectacles, it was a form of Eastern Hindī. [LSI pp. 30-31]

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# VOL. II

## MŌN-KHMĒR AND SIAMESE-CHINESE FAMILIES

(INCLUDING KHASSI AND TAI)

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## THE MŌN-KHMĒR FAMILY

74 *Introduction.* Though the languages of the Mōn-Khmēr family are spoken in Further India, the home of one important member, Khassi, is in Assam. Hence a brief general description of the family is necessary.

The languages of this family are spoken in Pegu, Cambodia, Anam and also in the hill country of the lower and middle Me-Kong in middle Chindwin and Khassis.

The languages of Mōn-Khmēr family fall into five groups. First includes the inhabitants of the hill country of the lower and middle Me-Kong. The second includes the Mōn or Talaing, the Anamese and a number of minor dialects. The third, various dialects of the Khmēr, the fourth, Palaung, was and a number of other dialects. The fifth includes various dialects of Khassi.

The resemblance of Mōn-Khmēr and Muṇḍā and Nancowry vocabularies is so remarkable that a connection between these languages cannot be doubted. But the structures of the two sets of languages differ in important particulars. The Mōn-Khmēr languages are monosyllabic. Every word consists of a single syllable. The Muṇḍā languages contain many undoubted polysyllables. The Muṇḍā order is subject, object, verb, while in Khassi and Mōn it is subject, verb, object.

Owing to the existence of these differences we should not be justified in assuming a common origin for the Mōn-Khmēr languages on the one hand and for the Muṇḍā on the other. We may, however, safely assume that there is at the bottom of all these tongues a common substratum.

Of what languages this original substratum consisted, we are not yet in a position to say. Whatever it was, it covered a wide area from Cochin China in the east to Berars, in Central India, in the west. [LSI pp. 1-2]



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## KHASSI

**75** Khassi is spoken in the district of Khasi and Jaintia Hills. Speakers of this dialect are also found in the adjoining districts of Sylhet and Cachar. Besides the standard dialect three other dialects have been reported, viz., Lyng-ngam, Synteng or Pnār and Wār.

Khassi occupies an isolated position among the aborginal tongues of India, especially among the Tibeto-Bruman group which encloses it. The morphological character of the language differs too much from that of other forms of speech found within the Indian boundaries, to admit it being classed with any one of them.

The following are the principal points of difference between the Khassi family and the other non-Aryan languages of India :

1. It possesses a complete system of gender.
2. The grammatical relations are denoted by position or more often, by the use of help words, being prefixes, with more or less attenuated meanings. On the other hand, the non-Aryan languages prefer suffixes.
3. The possession of a relative pronoun distinguishes the Khassi dialects from most of the non-Aryan languages of India. [LSI pp. 4-5]

*Vocabulary.* The greater part of the words used in Khassi appear to be native to the tongue, though there may have been borrowings and interchanges with its Tibeto-Burman neighbours. Many words have been borrowed from Bengali, Hindōstānī and English ; but the language has considerable power of abstraction, and has proved adequate to the expression of very complex relations of thought. [LSI pp. 5-6]

**76** *Pronunciation.* The vowels given below have the sounds not represented elsewhere by the same means, as the missionaries mode of representation or pronunciation has been adopted who have provided a written character for the dialect.

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Khassi *a* represents Bengali and Assamese *ā*. *O* represents the abrupt O in 'gone' ; *Ō* as in 'bone'. *Y* is used for the obscure vowel, something between, but shorter than, the Aryan *a* and the German Ö or the French *eu*. Combined with *r* it represents very accurately the vocal *ṛ* (ऋ) of the old Aryan Alphabet. Only one *d* and *t* (not two, dental and cerebral) are used, as in English. *Ng* is frequent as an initial, and after initial *s*, as *sngai*, *ngā*. *g* never occurs separately.

Khassi possesses tones, like other languages of the Mōn-Khmēr family, Tai and Chinese. The abrupt tone is represented by the use of *h* after the vowel ; e.g. *la*, the particle of past tense ; *lah*, the particle of potentiality.

The first number of the initial consonant clusters is dropped in rapid utterance ; thus, *blang*, 'goat', *langbrot*, 'kid'. [LSI pp. 6-7]

77 *General Structure*. The elements of Khassi vocabulary are monosyllabic, but numerous words, used to form compound roots, are compound words, in most of the cases consisting of meaningful monosyllabic words. Compound roots, thus formed add greatly to the power of the language as the means of expression. Thus, *kyn*, causal prefix, *māw*, 'stone' ; *kyn-māw*, 'mark with a stone as memorial, remember'. [LSI pp. 7-8]

*Article*. The pronoun of the third person is commonly described as a so-called article. Its forms are, singular, masc. *u*, fem. *ka*, diminutive or familiar, *i* ; plural (com, gen.) *ki*. It has not the force of our article, but only indicates the gender and number of the associated noun. [LSI p. 8]

*Nouns*. Gender is indicated in the singular by the 'article' in the plural, where necessary, by words denoting sex. A great majority of inanimate nouns are feminine. *ka sngi*, 'the sun, day', is feminine ; *u bynai*, 'the moon, month', is masculine. Number is indicated only by the article. Case is indicated by prefixes, as *u brīw*, 'a man', (nominative) ; *ia u brīw*, 'a man' (accusative) ; *jong u brīw*, 'of a man', (genitive). [LSI p. 8]

*Adjectives*. The adjective follows the noun. It is formed by prefixing *ba-* to the root. Thus *bha*, 'goodness' ; *ba-bha*, 'good'. [LSI p. 8]

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*Numerals.* In Khaṣsi the cardinal number always precedes the noun (e. g. *ār ngut*, two persons), whereas in Tibeto-Burman it follows it. [LSI p. 9]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *ngā* ; for 'thou' is *mē* (masc.). *phā* (fem.) ; for 'he, she, it' is *u* (masc.), *ka* (fem.). The demonstratives are formed by the addition of particles denoting the position of things with reference to the speaker, to the pronouns of the third person. [LSI p. 9]

*Verbs.* The verbal root (which never varies) may be simple or compound. These are formed by adding prefixes to nouns and adjectives.

There are two verbs for 'to be', *long*, implying 'existence, absolutely', and *don*, implying 'limited existence', and also meaning 'to have'.

There is only one form of conjugation for all verbs. Tense and mood are indicated by prefixes, number and person by the subject. When subject is a noun, the pronoun is inserted before the verb.

The passive voice is formed by using the verb impersonally and putting the subject into the accusative case with *ia*. [LIS pp. 9-10]

*Order of Words.* The usual word order is, subject, verb and object ; but very often for the sake of emphasis the verb is put before the subject. [LSI p. 11]

## LYNG-NGAM

78 Lyng-ngam is a dialect of Khassi, and is spoken in the west of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills District, near the Garo Hills. [LSI p. 17]

The following are the principal points of difference between it and the standard dialect :

*Pronunciation.* A notable difference from the standard dialect is the occurrence of final *k* instead of *h* and an initial *p* instead of *b* in the standard dialect. Thus, *baroh* (standard), 'all', becomes, *prok*.

Articles are frequently omitted. [LSI p. 17]

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*Nouns.* The prefix of the accusative-dative is *se-* or *sa-* often contracted to *s-*, instead of *ia-*. The prefix of the dative is *hanam, hnam, tnam.* For the genitive besides the standard *jong*, we have *ba, am-ba, amb, amb, am,* and *am-nam.* [LSI p. 17]

*Adjectives.* The usual word for 'male' is *korang* and for 'female' is *konthāw.* [LSI p. 17]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *ne*, for 'thou' is *mi, mei,* and for 'he' is *u, ju, u-ju.* [LSI pp. 17-18]

*Verbs.* Some of the commonest verbs are very different from those used in the standard dialect.

The present and past tenses are formed as in the standard dialect. The particle of the future is, as in the standard, *ya*, but it is added to the verb in a very peculiar way. If the root is a monosyllable, it is inserted into the middle of the root, immediately after the first consonant. Thus, *rip*, 'strike'; *rynip*, 'will strike', If the root is a compound, it is inserted between the two members, as in *pan-yn-sop*, 'will fill'. The infinitive has the same form as the future. Similar infixes occur in Malay, in the Nancowry dialect of Nicobar, and the Malacca aborginal languages. [LSI pp. 18-19]

## SYNTENG OR PNAR

79 Synteng or Pnar, a dialect of Khassi is spoken over the greater part of the east of the District of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, i.e., in the Jaintia country. [LSI p. 24]

The following are the main points of difference between it and the standard dialect :

*Pronunciation.* Its vocabulary differs mainly in pronunciation. Thus, we have *ē* for *ai* 'give'; *mo* for *māw*, 'stone'; *wi* for *wei*, 'one'; *bru* for *brīw*, 'man', etc.

Standard *ng* is sometimes represented by *nj*, which is variously pronounced. It is a peculiar nasal, something like *n-ng* or *njy*. [LSI p. 24]



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*Order of Words.* The pronoun which indicates the subject of the verb quite commonly follows it instead of (or as well as) preceding it, in this agreeing with other dialects, but differing from the standard. [LSI p. 24]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun (s) for 'I' are *nga*, *ō* ; for 'thou' are *mē*, *mi* ; for 'he', is *u*, and for 'she' is *ka*. [LSI pp. 24-25]

*Verbs.* The present tense is either the bare root-form, or else takes the prefix *wa*, as in *wa sympat ō*, 'I strike'. The past tense usually takes no prefix or suffix, and is, therefore, the same in form as the simple form of the present. The sign of the future is *u*, which is prefixed to the verb, as in *u sympat ō*, 'I shall strike'. [LSI p. 25]

## WĀR

**80** Wār, a dialect of Khassi, is spoken in the south-east corner of the district of the Khasi and Jaintia Hills, in the country between Sowai and Jaintiapur. This dialect differs much more from the standard that does Synteng. [LSI p. 30]

*Vocabulary.* The vocabulary frequently differs. Thus, we have *mi* for *wei*, 'one' ; *nïa* for *kjat*, 'a foot', and many others. Even if a word is retained, it undergoes great changes. Thus, *ā* for *ār*, 'two' ; *tāi* for *kti*, 'a hand'. [LSI p. 30]

*Order of words.* The order of words is not so strictly observed as in the standard dialect. The subject, and especially the pronoun indicating the subject, frequently follow the verb. [LSI p. 30]

*Nouns.* For the accusative dative, the prefix is *ei-*, corresponding to the standard *ia*, as in *ei-ïē*, 'them' or 'to them'. The prefix *ti-* is used in a great variety of meanings. Its proper use seems to be to denote the ablative, as in *ti u-pa*, 'from a father'. [LSI p. 30]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns for 'I' are *nge*, *ñia*, *o*, *a* ; for 'thou' are *em*, *ym*, *m*, and for 'he, she, it' are *ēw*, *u*, *ïe*. [31]

*Verb.* The present tense is formed by prefixing *a-* to the root. Thus, *a-man o*, 'I am'. Sometimes, the *a-* is omitted, so that we have the bare root, as in the standard dialect. Thus,

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*em u-a beh ah be ñia*, 'thou who always art with me'. The past tense takes the prefix *da-* or *de-* and also *a-*. Thus, *da choh nge*, 'I struck'; *a-ah u ti ka-lahi*, 'he was in the field' The future tense, as well as, the infinitive mood is formed by prefixing *ju-*; thus, *ju sympat nge*, 'I shall strike'; *hyng-eh tang ju-ba*, 'difficult even to eat'. [LSI pp. 31-32]

## 81 LIST OF SELECT WORDS AND SENTENCES IN KHASSI AND OTHER MŌN-KHMĒR LANGUAGES

| *English* | *Khassi (Standard)* | *Synteng* | *War* |
|---|---|---|---|
| one | wei, shi | wi, shi | mi, shi |
| two | ār | ar | ā |
| three | lāi | lē | lāi |
| four | sāw | sō | zia |
| hand | kakti | ka kti | ka nia |
| foot | ka kjat, kyjat, slajat | ka kjat, kyjat | ka nla |
| head | ka khlīh | i khlīh | u khlīah |
| a father | u kypa | u pa | u pa |
| of a father | jong u kypa | jong u'pa | jong u'pa |
| to a father | sha u kypa | sha u'pa | tu u'pa |
| two fathers | ār-ngut ki k'pa | ārngut ki'pa | ār-bai i'pa |
| I am | nga long | nga man | a man- o |
| thou art | me long | mē man | a man- 'm |
| he is | u long | u man | a man-u |
| we are | ngi long | ngi man | ē-i amani |
| you are | phi long | phi man | ēhi aman-hi |
| they are | ki long | ki man | aman-ïe |
| I was | nga la long | em hi ō | ah-he-nge |
| thou wast | me la long | em hi mi | ah'm-y |

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| *English* | *Khassi (Standard)* | *Synteng* | *War* |
|---|---|---|---|
| he was | u la long | em hi u | ah ha-u |
| we were | ngi la long | em hi ī | ah hi i |
| you were | phi la long | man hi phi | ah hi hai |
| they were | ki la long | man hi ki | ah hi iē |
| I shall be | nga'n long | u em ō | ju ah ō |
| I beat | nga shoh | wa sympat ō | a sympat ō |
| thou beatest | me shoh | wa sympat mi | a sympat 'm |
| he beats | u shoh | wa sympat u | a sympat u |
| we beat | ngi shoh | wa sympat ī | a sympat i |
| you beat | phi shoh | wa sympat phi | a sympat hi |
| they beat | ki shoh | wa sympat ki | a sympat-ïe |
| I beat (past) | nga la shoh | da bom ō | da choh nge |
| thou beatest (past) | me la shoh | da dep bom mi | da dep choh'm |
| he beat (past) | u la shoh | da bom u | da choh u |
| we beat (past) | ngi la shoh | da bom ī | da cho i |
| you beat (past) | phi la shoh | da bom phi | da choh hi |
| they beat (past) | ki la shoh | da bom ki | da choh iē |
| I shall beat | nga-'n (ngan) shoh | u sympat ō | ju sympat nge |

[LSI pp. 38-57]

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## SIAMESE-CHINESE FAMILY

82 The Siamese-Chinese family of Indo-Chinese languages includes Tai, Karen and Chinese. Of these, Tai is the only one which falls within the limits of the present survey.

Tai is a group of languages including Siamese and Lao of Siam, Lü and Khün of the trans-Salwin Shān states, Shān of Burma and Yün-nan and Āhom, Khāmtī and other dialects of Assam. As the languages of Burma do not form part of our present inquiries, the Assam Tai languages are the only ones, which will be considered in the following pages. [LSI p. 58]

### TAI GROUP

83 *General introduction.* The Tai or Shān languages all belong to the Siamese-Chinese family or the Indo-China forms of speech.

The various forms of languages spoken by the Tai race fall into two closely connected groups ; a northern and a southern. The former includes Khāmtī, Chinese Shān, and Burmese Shān, together with the ancient Ahōm language now extinct ; and the latter includes Lao and Siamese.

There were two distinct classes of Tai immigrants into Assam, both belonging to the Northern Shān tribes. The first immigration was that of Āhoms, who entered Assam in the twelfth century A.D. as conquerors, and gave their name to the country. The second consisted of a number of small clans who came into Assam at various times between the middle of the eighteenth and the middle of the nineteenth century. Of these Khāmtīs were the earliest and most important, and the others were small bodies of a few hundred people each, all closely connected with them and speaking the same language. Of them the Tairongs passed through a course of slavery on their route, and have abandoned their own language in favour of that of their masters, the Kachins.



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Before treating the Tai languages separately it will be convenient to deal here, once for all, with some of their main typical characteristics. Examples have been taken from Āhom, unless otherwise stated. [LSI pp. 59-67]

84 *The tone system.* Every true Tai word consists of one syllable. The number of elementary monosyllables in these languages is very small, not more than a few thousand in any one of them. As this number is not sufficient to furnish all possible ideas, it follows that if all possible ideas have to be expressed, one and the same word must have several distinct meanings. In order to indicate the difference in meaning a system grew up in the Indo-Chinese languages of pronouncing the same word in different ways according to its meaning. This system is called that of tones. Owing to Āhom, being a dead language, we cannot say what tones were in use for any particular word when it formed a member of the spoken language. But in present day in other allied languages we find many words having as many as eight to ten meanings due to the use of different tones. One example for Annamitic, an Indo-Chinese language, would illustrate the point. The sentence *ba ba ba ba*, is said to mean if properly pronounced, 'three ladies gave a box on the ear to the favourite of the prince'. *Ba* with no tone means 'three', with a grave tone means 'a lady', with a high tone means 'a box on the ear', and with a sharp tone means 'the favourite of a prince.'

These languages are in the last stages of decrepitude. The monosyllabic words are worn down polysyllables, and these polysyllables were formed by prefixes and suffixes. By constant attrition sometimes the prefix was rubbed down, leaving only a faint trace of the changes in the main word which its presence has effected. Or, on the other hand, the word itself may be rubbed down, so that apparently the prefix alone remains. Thus the original Indo-Chinese word for a horse was **rang*, **ring* or **rong*, it has become *m-rāng* in Burmese, *r-ta* in Tibetan, and *ma* in Tai languages, in which only the prefix remains.

According to Prof. Conrady, the system of tones has arisen from the elision of prefixes, or of the original word. It is not so much that, after the elision had taken place, the speaker found

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it necessary to distinguish between similar words, and hence invented tones. The tones were, rather, automatic results of the elision of the prefixes. [LSI pp. 67-70]

85 *Couplets and compounds.* The tone system in these languages has not been found sufficient to express various shades of meanings, and such as the words are also differentiated by a system of compounding known as the formation of couplets. Two different words, each with several different meanings, but possessing one meaning of common, are joined together, and the couplet thus formed has only the meaning common to the two. For instance, take the words *khā* and *phān*. *khā* amongst its other significations, means (1) 'slave', (2) 'cut', and *phān*, (1) 'an order' (2) 'poor', (3) 'sorrow', (4) 'cut'. The couplet *khā -phān* means 'cut' because 'cut' is the only meaning common to its two members.

Sometimes, in these couplets, only one word has retained its meaning, while the other word has lost its meaning. Thus, in Shān word, *tāng-shin*, meaning 'a road', *tang* is the word which has retained its original meaning, while *shin* has lost it.

In some couplets, the members possess altogether different meanings, but the resultant couplet gives the combined meaning of the two. Thus, *bān*, 'day, sun'; *tuk*, 'fall'; *bān-tuk*, 'sunset, evening'.

Although these words usually appear in couplets, they sometimes appear in compounds of three or more words, in order to give the requisite shade of meaning. Thus, *kiñ-bā-dī*, 'very say good, called very good, excellent, best'.

*Inflexion.* In Tai languages, every word, without exception, denotes, primarily, the idea of some thing, action or condition. Some of these words, such as, 'tree' can only perform the functions of noun substantives, while others, corresponding to verbal nouns in Aryan languages, are capable of being easily used in other functions. Thus, if in Āhom we wish to express the idea 'slept', we say 'sleep completion'; if we wish to express 'sleeps', we say 'sleep-existence', and if we wish to express 'will sleep', we say 'motion-towards-sleep'.

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The processes of declension and conjugation do not properly occur in Āhom, nor can the vocabulary be divided into parts of speech. The grammatical relations are indicated, partly by the position of words in the sentences and partly by compounding words together. We cannot, properly speaking, talk of nouns and verbs, we can only talk of words performing the functions of nouns or verbs. [LSI p. 73]

*Conjugation.* When a Tai word performs the function of a verb, it can, as it stands, be used for any tense, mood, or voice. [LSI p. 74]

*Voice.* In these languages, there is no formal distinction between the active voice and passive. The idea of activity or passivity would not enter into the mind of the Āhom speaker at all. The same word has either an active or a passive signification according to the meaning required by the sentence. For 'he lost' or 'he was lost' an Āhom speaker would simply say, 'he loss' and leaves the hearer to conclude as to what he means. [LSI p. 74]

*Mood and tense.* As mentioned above, the base word can be used for any tense, but when this would lead to ambiguity, the accidents of mood and tense are expressed by the use of particles. It cannot be said that these are suffixed or prefixed to the word which performs the function of the verb, for they are often widely separated from it. Thus take the sentence *po-mān pān-kān tāng-lai khrâng-ling klāng shâng pī nâng jau*, 'the father began to divide all property between two elder sons complete' i e. 'the father began to divide his property between his elder and younger son'. Here the word performing the function of a verb is *pān-kān*, 'divide-begin', and the particle indicating part time, *jau*, is separated from it by six other words. In fact, these particles do not give past, present or future time to any particular word in the sentence, but to the sentence as a whole. [LSI pp. 74-75]

*Order of words.* In most Indo-Chinese languages the most important help to distinguishing what function is performed by any word is the place which it occupies in relation to the other words in the sentence. The meaning of a sentence is to be

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grasped from the order of the words which comprise it. For example, in Āhom, *kip* means 'husk' and *khau* means 'rise', *kip khau* means 'husk of rice' and not 'rice of husk,' because the rule is that when a word performs the function of a genitive, it follows the word, which governs it. The reverse is the case in Indo-Aryan languages. In the different members of the Tai languages customs differ as to the order of words. [LSI pp. 75-76]

86 *The mutual relationship of the Tai languages of Assam.* These languages are all closely related to each other. Indeed, they should not be considered as languages, but as members of the group of Northern Shān dialects.

Khāmtī is most widely different from Burmese Shān. The other Assam Tai languages (except Āhom) have come into their new home at much later times and have come to some degree under the influence of Khāmtī. Tairong is most like Khāmtī, the differences being hardly even tribal peculiarities. The next nearest is Norā. It uses the Khāmtī alphabet, but has one later *a*, which Khāmtī has lost. Aitoniā is furthest removed from Khāmtī and the nearest to Shān. It uses Shān grammatical forms freely, but also does not disclaim the correspounding Khāmtī ones.

Āhom belongs to a different layer of speech, and may be considered to stand in the position of parent to all the others. [LSI pp. 78-79]

## ĀHOM

87 As stated in the General Introduction Āhom is an extinct language, once spoken in Assam. [LSI p. 81]

*Alphabet.* The Āhom alphabet is an old form of that which, under various forms, is current for Khāmtī, Shān, Burmese, and Chākmā. It is more complete than those of Khāmtī and Shān, but not so complete as those of Burmese and Chākmā. It consists of fortyone letters ; eighteen vowels and twentythree consonants.

The vowel *a* is considered to be a consonant, as in Siamese. Every consonant has this sound inherent in it. [LSI p. 81-87]

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*Relationship of Āhom to Khāmtī and Shān.* Like Khāmtī and Shān, Āhom belongs to the Northern Sub-Group of the Tai group of languages. It is in an older stage of linguistic development. It bears a much closer relationship with these languages than Sanskrit has with Pāli.

Compound consonants of Āhom are simplified in these languages. As a rule, the Āhom vowels are retained in Khāmtī and Shān. But the consonants undergo certain changes. Āhom *b* usually corresponds to Khāmtī or Shān *w*. Thus, Āhom *bā* 'say', Khāmtī-Shān, *wa*. Āhom *d* becomes Khāmtī and Shān *n* or *l*. Thus, Āhom, *dai*, 'obtain', Khāmtī, *nai*, Shān, *lai*. Both Khāmtī and Shān interchange *n* and *l*. Āhom *j* corresponds to Khāmtī and Shān *y*. Thus, Āhom, *jau*, 'completion', Khāmtī and Shān, *yau*. Āhom *r* and initial *ñ* correspond to Khāmtī and Shān *h* and *y* respectively. Thus, Āhom *rai*, 'lose', Khāmtī and Shān, *hai* ; Āhom *ñāng*, 'be', Khāmtī and Shān, *yang*. [LSI pp. 88-89]

*Tones.* Āhom, like the modern Tai languages used tones. But it cannot be ascertained as to which tones were in use, as unfortunately tradition is silent as to the use of tones, nor is there any system of indicating them in the written character. [LSI pp. 89-90]

*Articles.* There does not seem to be any word which performs the function of a definite article. For the indefinite article the numeral *lüng*, 'one', is employed. [LSI p. 90]

*Noun : gender.* Āhom words have no gender. When it is required to distinguish sex, this is done by compounding the main word with another word meaning 'male' or 'female'. Thus, *kūn*, 'a person' ; *kūn-phu*, 'person male, man' : *kūn-mi*, 'person female, woman', with nouns of relationship *mān* and *ñüng* are used. In the case of irrational animals *thük* indicates the male sex, and *me* the female.

*Number.* Usually the idea of plurality is left to be inferred from the nature of the sentence. If, however, it is necessary to express it, this is generally done by prefixing the word *khau*, which is also used as the plural of the third personal pronoun, meaning 'they'. Thus, *khau po*, 'fathers'.

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*Case.* The relations of case are indicated by composition with some other word or by position.

The nominative is either the bare form of the word, or else, optionally, takes the suffix-*ko*. When a noun is in the accusative case, it takes no suffix or prefix. The relationship of the instrumental case is indicated by prefixing *tang* 'with'. Thus, *tang-khân*, '(beat him) with a cudgel'. The relationship of the dative case is indicated by prefixing the word *ti-*, meaning 'place', hence 'the place or object to which motion is directed'. The relationship of the ablative case is indicated by prefixing *luk* or *luk-tām*, as in *luk po-lūng*, 'from a father'. The genitive is indicated by juxtaposition of the governed and governing word, the governed word being placed last. Thus, *kip khau*, 'husk rice, i.e., husk of rice'.

[LSI pp. 90-93]

*Adjectives.* In all the Tai languages, a word performing the function of an adjective follows the word it qualifies. It thus occupies the same position as a word in the genitive, e.g., *mūng jau*, 'country distant, a far country'. Comparison is made with the word *khūñ* or *kiñ*, which means 'be better', and the superlative is expressed by adding *nām*, 'many' or *tang*, 'all'.

Generic words may be added to numerals as in most Tibeto-Burman languages. They are very numerous in all the Tai forms of speech. They indicate the quality of the noun which is counted. Thus, one word is used when human beings are counted, another when animals are counted, another when flat things, and so on. Thus, in Āhom *kūn*, 'a person', is used in counting human beings, as *kūn phū lūng*, 'person male one, one man' ; *tū*, 'a body' ; used in counting animals, as in *tū shâng-shaū mū*, 'body two-twenty pig, twenty two pigs.'

[LSI pp. 93-94]

*Pronouns.* Personal pronoun for 'I' is *kau* ; for 'thou' is *maū* ; and for 'he, she, it', is *mān*. Demonstrative pronouns are *nai*, *i-ū*, 'this' and, *nān*, *haū*, 'that'. The relative pronoun is *pān kū*.

[LSI pp. 94-96]

*Verbs.* The simple present takes no particle. Word performing the function of the verb, stands alone. The present definite is formed by adding *ū*, 'remain', after the word performing the function of a verb. Past tense is formed by adding, after the

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word performing the function of a verb, either *jau* or *kā*. Thus, *rai-dai-jau*, 'lost'. Similarly, perfect is formed by adding *koi*. The future is indicated by prefixing *ti-*, to the word performing the function of a verb. [LSI pp. 96-100]

*Adverbs.* Words perform the function of adverbs, just as they do, those of other parts of speech. Most of them are compounds, and the meaning of the separate members is not always very clear. Thus, *mŭ-nai*, 'time-now, then' ; *nā-kān-mŭ*, 'previous-place-time, as usual.' [LSI p. 100]

*Order of words.* In Āhom the order of words is different from the other languages of the Tai Group. There are many exceptions to the rules already described in the General Introduction. The rules described below are also not free from the above observations. In a simple sentence, the order is subject, complement, copula. With transitive verbs, the usual order is subject, direct object, verb. The verbal suffix almost always comes at the end of the sentence of clause. Introductory words, such as those that perform the functions of adverbs of time and place or of conjugations, usually stand at the beginning of the sentence. [LSI pp. 101-105]

## KHĀMTĪ

88 Khāmtī is spoken at the east of the Lakhimpur district, between Mishmi and Singpho on the south side of the Brahmputra. Due to the Needham's excellent grammar, there is no need for an elaborate analysis of Khāmtī, as has been made for Āhom. [LSI p. 141]

*Alphabet.* The Khāmtī alphabet, which is a variety of the Shān Alphabet, which in its turn, was borrowed from the Burmese, contains thirtythree letters. Of these sixteen are vowels and seventeen are consonants. It is not so complete as the older Āhom alphabet. In the vowels it has not the letters *ā̤* and *ē*, and in the consonants it wants the letters *g, gh, j, jh, d, dh, b, bh.* Vowel *a* is considered to be a consonant, as in Siamese and Shān. Every consonant has the sound *a* inherent in it. [LSI pp. 141-144]

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*Tones.* In Khāmtī, according to Mr. Needham, there are at least three tones. Robinson in his grammar appears to recognise four tones, viz., 1. the rising tone ; 2. the straightforward tone of an even pitch ; 3. the falling tone ; 4. the emphatic tone. Both the systems are somewhat defective, and for many words it has not been possible to ascertain the tones with certainty. [LSI pp. 144-145]

*Article.* The indefinite article is formed by adding *a-lüng*, 'one' after the noun, as in *kŏn ā- lüng*, 'a certain man'. For the definite article, the pronoun *nai*, is often used. Thus, *mū khau*, 'pigs' ; *mū nai khau*, 'the pigs'.

*Nouns : gender.* Gender is unknown. In order to distinguish sex, either different words are used, such as *po*, 'father', *me*, 'mother', or else differentiating words are added, such as *chai* for human beings, *thük* for inferior animals and *phū* for birds.

*Number.* Plural is indicated (when necessary) by prefixing or suffixing *khau*. Thus, *pet khau*, 'ducks'.

*Case.* The relationship of case is formed by prefixing or suffixing words, as in Āhom.

The nominative and the accusative take no suffix. *Mai* is optionally used as a suffix of the dative and the locative. The genitive takes no prefix or suffix, but is placed after the governing word. Thus, *hang*, 'a tail', *pa*, 'a fish' ; *hang pa*, 'a fish's tail'. [LSI pp. 145-146]

*Adjective.* Adjectives do not change for gender. They follow the nouns they qualify. Thus, *kŏn nī*, 'a good man'. The comparative is formed by prefixing *khen*, 'more', to the adjective, and adding *mai* or *lüm-shī*. To form superlative we say 'more than all', as in *khen yaü lüm-shi tāng-müng*, larger than all, largest'.

Generic words can be added to numerals, as in Āhom. A numeral precedes the word it qualifies, unless a generic word is used, when it follows. [LSI pp. 146-147]

*Pronouns.* Personal pronoun for 'I' is *kau* ; for 'thou' is *maü* ; and for 'he, she, it' is *man*.

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They are declined exactly like nouns.

Demonstrative pronouns are adjectives, and follow the nouns they qualify. [LSI p. 147]

*Verbs.* As in Āhom there is no proper conjugation of verbs. There is no change for number or person. The bare root is quite commonly used for any tense, especially for the present and the past. Future is formed by prefixing *ti-* ; thus, *kau ti- kin*, 'I shall eat'.

The prefixes and suffixes are quite commonly widely separated from the root. A prefix commonly appears at the beginning of the sentence and a suffix at the end, while the verb is itself in the middle.

There is no passive voice. [LSI p. 148]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words in a simple sentence is subject, direct object, indirect object, verb. In an interrogative sentence the indirect precedes the direct object. [LSI pp. 148-149]

## TAIRONG

89 The Tairongs inhabit the west centre of the Sibsagar district of Assam. About 150 members of the tribe speak their own language. Tairong, which, according to specimens is nearly the same as Khāmtī. The following account of the principal points of difference between Tairong and Khāmtī is based on specimens and list of words, which are not very trustworthy. [LSI p. 167]

*Alphabet.* The alphabet is practically the same as that of Khāmtī. [LSI p. 167]

*Nouns : number.* The plural is formed by suffixing *-khau* or nouns of multitude may be prefixed. Thus, *flung mē -mā.* 'bitches', literally 'a collection of bitches'.

*Case. Hāng-* and *tī-* one both used as prefixes for the dative. *Hāng-* is also used for the accusative. The suffix *-ko* appears to be used for nominative. [LSI pp. 167-168]

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*Verbs.* The past suffix is, as in Khāmtī, *-kā* or *-yau.* The future prefix is *tī-*, as in Khāmtī. The suffix of the imperative is *-tā* and also *-lā.*

## NORĀ

90 Norā is spoken in Sibsagar district of Assam, by about 300 people. It is akin to Khāmtī, but possesses more points in common with the northern Shān of Burma. [LSI p. 179]

*Pronunciation.* Norā possesses the vowel *a̱*, which exists in Ahom, Aitoniā and Shān, but not in Khāmtī. It is sometimes interchanged with *ā.* Thus the word for 'servant' is written both *kha̱* and *khā.* Norā *f* correspondes to Khāmtī *ph.* [LSI pp. 179-180]

*Nouns.* The suffix *-mai* is regularly used to make a kind of oblique form when a noun is governed by a preposition. Thus, *ti Frā -mai*, to (i.e. against) God. The dative case is formed by prefixing *hāng-* or *kā-* (as in Shān). The genitive usually, as in Khāmtī, simply follows the governing noun, without any suffix or prefix. Sometimes, however, the relative pronoun *ān* is idiomatically prefixed. Thus, *ān pō kha̱*, 'the slave of the father', literally, 'who of the father (is) the slave.' [LSI p. 180]

*Adjectives.* The participial suffix *-se* (Khāmtī *-shī*) is frequently added. Thus *tāng-lung-se*, 'all' [LSI p. 180]

*Pronouns.* The respectful suffix *-chau*, as in *maū-chau*, 'you'; *man-chau*, 'he', may be noted. [LSI p. 180]

*Verbs.* Past tense is frequently formed, in the perfect sense, by *kwā-jau* (literally 'has gone'). For the future, both the Khāmtī *tī-* and the Shān *tak* are used. Thus, *tī-kā-wā*, 'will say'; *tak nai-nai*, 'will be given'. [LSI. pp. 180-181]

## AITONIĀ

91 Aitoniā speakers, numbering only some two hundred, live in the south-west corner of the Sibsagar district, and in the Naga Hills. This language is almost pure Shān. [LSI p. 193]

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*Alphabet.* The alphabet in use is almost entirely the Shān, and not in Khāmtī one. [LSI pp. 193-194]

*Nouns.* The plural is ordinarily formed by suffixing *-khau* as usual. The nominative sometimes takes the suffix *-ko*, as in Āhom and Tairong. Thus, *sū-ko yāng*, 'you are'. The accusative can take the dative preposition *hāng*, as in Shān. The most usual prefix of the ablative is *luk-*, as in Khāmtī, or *ū-luk*, as in Tairong. The genitive has no prefix or suffix, and, as usual, follows the word by which it is governed. [LSI pp. 194-195]

*Adjectives.* The numeral *lüng*, 'one', can take the prefix *ān* or *a̤-*, and then has the force of the indefinite article, like *ā-lüng* in Khāmtī.

The comparative degree is formed by suffixing *-si*, equivalent to Shān *-sē*, to the adjective. Thus, *nī-sī a̤-nai*, 'better (than) this.' The superlative is most simply formed by doubling the adjective, as in *nī-nī*, 'very good'. [LSI p. 195]

*Verbs.* The usual sign of the past tense is *kwā*, but occasionally Khāmtī *kā* and *mā*, also occur. Thus, *thām- kwā*, 'asked', *nip-mā*, 'became alive'. The future takes both *tī* and also *ta̤*, a contraction of the Shān *tak*. Thus, *kau tā pin*, 'I shall be,; *maü tī pō*, 'thou wilt strike'. [LSI p. 195]

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## 92 LIST OF SELECT WORDS AND SENTENCES IN TAI LANGUAGES OF ASSAM

| *English* | *Āhom* | *Khāmtī* | *Norā* | *Aitonia* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| one | lüng | lüng | lüng | lüng |
| two | shâng | shâng | sâng | sâng |
| three | shām | shām | shām | sām |
| four | shī | shī | sī | sī |
| hand | mü | phā mü | phā mü | mü |
| foot | tin | tin | phā-tin | tin |
| head | rō | hō | hō | hū |
| a father | po-lüng | pō | pō̂-man kō lüng | pō-a-lüng |
| of a father | po-lüng | pō | pō-man kō lüng | pō-a-lüng |
| to a father | tī-po-lüng | pō-mai | hāng po-man kō lüng | hāng pō-a lüng |
| two fathers | shâng po | shâng-pō | pō-man sâng-kō | pō sâng-kō |
| I am | kaū ū | kau yang-ū | kau chaü | kau yāng |
| thou art | maü ū | maü yang-ū | mau chaü | mau yāng |
| he is | mān ū | man yang-ū | man chaü | man yāng |
| we are | rau ū | tū yang-ū | hau chaü | hau yāng |
| you are | shü ū | shū yang-ū | sū chaü | sū-ko yāng |
| they are | mān-khaū ū | khau yang-ū | khau chaü | khau-ko yāng |
| I was | kau ū-jau | same as present tense | kau jāng-wai | kau yāng |
| thou wast | maü ū-jau | " | maü jāng-wai | maü-ko yāng |
| he was | mān ū-jau | " | man jāng-wai | man-ko yāng |



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| *English* | *Āhom* | *Khāmtī* | *Norā* | *Aitonia* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| we were | rau ū-jau | same as present tense | hau jāng-wai | hau-ko yāng |
| you were | shü ū-jau | ,, | sū jāng-wai | sū-ko yāng |
| they were | mān-khau ū-jau | ,, | khau jāng wai | khau-ko yāng |
| I shall be | kau tī-ū | made with a participle | kau tak pen | kau ta pin |
| I beat | kau po | kau pō-ū | kau po | kau pō |
| thou beatest | maü po | maü pō-ū | maü po | maü pō |
| he beats | mān po | man pō-ū | man po | man pō |
| we beat | rau po | tū pō-ū | hau po | hau pō |
| you beat | shü po | shū po-ū | sū po | sū pō |
| they beat | mān-khau po | khau pō-ū | khau po | khau pō |
| I beat (past) | kau po-jau | kau pō-kā ~ pō-mā | kau po-kā | kau pō-yau |
| thou beatest (past) | maü po-jau | maü pō-kā ~ pō-mā | maü po-kā | maü po-yau |
| he beat (past) | mān po-jau | man pō-kā ~ pō-mā | man po-kā | man pō-yau |
| we beat (past) | rau po-jau | tū pō-kā ~ pō-mā | hau po-kā | hau po-yau |
| you beat (past) | shü po-jau | shū pō-kā ~ pō-mā | sū po-kā | sū po-yau |
| they beat (past) | khau po-jau | khau pō-kā ~ pō-mā | khau po-kā | khau pō yau. |
| I shall beat | kou tī-po | kau tī-pō | kau tak po ~ ta po | kau ta pō |

[LSI pp. 214-223]

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# VOL. III, PART I

## TIBETO-BURMAN FAMILY

GENERAL INTRODUCTION,
TIBETAN DIALECTS,
THE HIMALAYAN DIALECTS,
AND THE NORTH ASSAM GROUP

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## THE TIBETO-BURMAN FAMILY

93 The Tibeto-Burman family is the most important group of Indo-Chinese languages spoken in British India.

The Indo-Chinese languages comprise of two different families (1) Mōn-khmēr, and (2) Chinese, Tai and Tibeto-Burman. Tibeto-Burman family comprises a long series of dialects spoken (a) from Tibet in the north to Burma in the south, and (b) from Baltistan in the west to the Chinese provinces of Ssechuan and Yünnan in the east. [LSI p. 1]

There is a close relation between Tibeto-Burman and Siamese-Chinese languages. The vocabulary is, to a great extent, the same. The following examples may be noted :

| | *Tibetan* | *Burmese* | *Khāmtī* | *Chinese* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| three | gsum | thũ | shām | sām |
| four | bzhi | le | shī | ssí |
| five | lnga | ngā | hā | ngu |
| die | shi | the | tai | ssi |
| tooth | so | thwā | khēō | yā |
| horse | rta | mrang | mā | ma |

Here Khāmtī has been chosen to represent Tai family. It is observed that Tibeto-Burman dialects are, on the whole, more closely connected with Chinese than with Siamese. [LSI pp. 2-3]

*Grammar.* The Tibeto-Burman and Siamese-Chinese also have some words in common, which are used to denote the same relations in time and space. For example, the Tibetan genitive suffix *gyi* is identical with the Chinese *chi* which is used in the same way. [LSI pp. 2-3]

*Tones and phonetic system.* Tibetan as well as Siamese and Chinese make use of Tones. Their tonal systems have developed on the same lines. In all dialects, the soft initials have a tendency



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to develop into hard sounds while transitive bases were formed from intransitives by hardening the initial consonant, and at the same time, pronouncing the word in a higher tone probably both due to the existence of an old prefix before the base word. These prefixes have been lost in Chinese, but the tones still show that they once existed. [LSI p. 4]

*Monosyllabic bases : Isolation.* The common use of prefixes in the formation of words show that the old form of speech in reality belonged to the agglutinating class. The speeches are monosyllabic and of the isolating class. Every monosyllabic base word is incapable of inflexion. Most of the bases can be used as nouns, adjectives or verbs. The confusion from this state of affairs is remedied by means of a fixed order of words. [LSI p. 5]

*General characteristics of Tibeto-Burman languages.* The Tibeto-Burman dialects possess a richly varied vocabulary. There is a tendency to coin a separate word for every individual concrete conception. Most of these dialects further evince a difficulty in forming words for abstract ideas. Thus several dialects prefer to use the word denoting an individual of their tribe instead of the general word man, as *kha-mi* 'man', in Khami. Similarly, for the words 'hand', 'foot', etc., they speak only of 'my hand' 'my foot'.

The Burmese, as well as, the Bodo and Kuki-Chin groups also agree in using generic particles with numerals, thereby restricting the numerals in their sphere, e.g., the Burmese would not say 'one man', but 'man one rational being' *lū-ta-yauk'*. [LSI p. 6]

*Classes of words.* In Tibeto-Burman like Siamese-Chinese the same word can often be used as a noun, as an adjective, and as a verb. These dialects do not possess a real verb. Their verb is a kind of noun and instead of saying 'I go', a Tibeto-Burman would say 'my-going'. As such, instead of speaking of nouns, adjectives and verbs, it would be better to speak of indefinite bases, of which the radical meaning can be used as nouns, adjectives or verbs. [LSI p. 6]

*Nouns.* There is no grammatical gender and also no grammatical number in these dialects. There is no proper declension. Different relations in time and space, can, however, be

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indicated by suffixing words which may be called postpositions. They cannot be called suffixes, because they are separable and only added to the last of a number of connected words. The genitive is often left without any sign, the governed noun being simply put before the governing noun. In other cases an element is added which looks like a suffix. [LSI pp. 6-7]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives are commonly undistinguishable from nouns in form. No fixed rule can be given regarding their position with reference to the noun they qualify. Noun and adjective form a kind of compound, and postpositions are only added to the last component. Comparison is effected by adding postpositions to the compared noun in order to show that the meaning of the adjective is relative. [LSI p. 7]

*Numerals.* The numeral system is distinctly decimal. In Tibetan, Burman, Kachin and in some other dialects, the rule for the formation of higher numbers is to prefix the numerals 'one', 'two' etc. to 'ten', etc. In Bodo, Nāgā and Kuki-Chin groups numerals are formed by suffixing the multiplier. Cf. Thādo, *som-ngā*, 'ten-five, fifty'. In several Himalayan dialects, higher numbers are counted in twenties, thus, Kanāwari has, *nish nizzāu sai* 'two twenty ten' for 'fifty'. [LSI p. 7]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns are comparatively simple, but there are several nouns in use as pronouns. the use of which is regulated by the law of etiquette. Thus, in Burmese the simple word for 'I' is *ngā*. It is, however, replaced by other words, such as *kywon-nuk*, 'little slave', when addressing an equal, *kywon-dâ* 'king's slave', when addressing a superior.

In some dialects we find different forms of the pronoun 'we', one excluding and the other including the person or persons addressed. A fully developed system of various forms of the first person is found in some Himalayan dialects, such as Kanāwarī.

There is no relative pronoun in the Tibeto-Burman forms of speech.. [LSI p. 8]

*Verbs.* The Tibeto-Burman verb is properly a noun. It is not capable of inflection in person, number or gender. The subject of the transitive verbs is usually put in the case of the agent. Thus, instead of 'I strike' they say 'by-me striking'.

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The verbal noun can be used alone as a verb without any addition, but in many cases a particle is added in order to show that the action of the verbal noun really takes place.

Ordinarily nouns, when performing the function of a verb, are incapable of inflection in time. As such, the use of the so-called tenses is very loose. [LSI pp. 8-9]

*Classification of Tibeto-Burman Languages.* On the whole, it is impossible to classify the Tibeto-Burman dialects satisfactorily. They must have split up in many different forms of speech at a very early period, and there are numerous crossings and inter-crossings. By ignoring minor details the state of affairs can broadly be described as follows :

Tibetan and Burmese, the northernmost and southernmost Tibeto-Burman languages, are connected by means of two different chains of dialects. The eastern consists of the various Kachin dialects, the western has a double beginning in the north, which unites towards the south. In the first place we find the dialects of the North Assam Group merging into the Nāgā, and further into the Bodo and Kuki-Chin forms of speech, and, in the second place, we can also trace a line from Tibetan, through the Himalayan languages, into Bodo and further into Kuki-Chin. Those latter dialects then gradually merge into the Burmese. [LSI pp. 10-12]

## TIBETAN OR BHOTIA

**94** Tibetan is the language of Tibet and the adjoining districts of India.

*Dialects.* Tibetan is not a uniform language over the whole territory within which it is spoken. The classical dialect of Tibetan represents a stage at which the language was first reduced to writing. It was then a monosyllabic form of speech with a highly complicated phonetic system, abounding in compound consonants, at least in numerous cases the result of a combination of prefixes, with monosyllabic bases. Such compounds have been partly retained in the west and in the east. In the centre, the prefixed consonants have been dropped and the old base-words

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have been restored. Their existence, however, is still traceable by means of the tone. The central Tibetan ; dialects are spoken from Spiti in the west to Bhutan to the east. Western dialects include those spoken in Ladakh and Baltistan.

The dialects of western Tibetan spoken within the British territory, viz., Baltī, Purik and Ladakhī agree in retaining a good deal of the compound consonants of classical Tibetan and in being devoid of tones. In this latter respect the dialect spoken in Lahoul marches with western Tibetan. On the other hand it simplifies the old compound consonants, in the final position, just as is the case in central Tibetan. The dialect spoken in eastern Tibet agrees with western Tibetan in being devoid of tones and in retaining many of the old compound consonants of classical Tibetan. [LSI pp. 15-16]

*Pronunciation.* Pronunciation differs in the different dialects. The Tibetan vowels are, broadly speaking short. In western Tibet vowels are comparatively long when closing a syllable, but really long vowels only occur as the result of a contraction. The hard unaspirated mutes are pronounced without any admixture of aspiration The corresponding soft consonants, when final are usually hardened, when initial are pronounced like the corresponding English sounds. In the east they are pronounced with strong aspiration, so that they are scarcely discernible from the corresponding hard sounds. Thus *gang*, 'which' is pronounced *ghang* or even *kang*. This tendency is traceable from Spiti eastwards. Compound consonants are treated in different ways in different dialects.

Sandberg distinguished three tones in central Tibetan-high-pitched, medial and low resonant. The high pitched tone is rendered by a feminine style of voice. The low resonant tone is guttural in character. Amundsen distinguishes six different tones, which number can be reduced to four.

With regard to the two main divisions of Tibetan tones, Conrady's investigations have shown that intransitive bases originally commenced with soft consonants. Transitive bases were then formed from them by adding prefixes. The prefixes

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were originally independent syllables. In the course of time they lost their character. The following base-word was pronounced in a high pitched tone, while the old soft initials were combined with a low tone. [LSI pp. 24-25]

*Noun.* Tibetan nouns are monosyllabic base-words, with or without prefixed consonants or else they are followed by suffixes, which give a nominal character to a base. The suffixes are dropped when the word containing them is combined with another word into a compound.

*Gender and number.* There is no grammatical gender, and nouns do not change for number.

*Case.* Cases are formed by adding suffixes, which are the same in the singular and the plural. The case suffixes to some extent differ in different dialects. The suffixes of the genitive in the classical dialect are *kyi, gyi, gi* and *'i*. The suffixes in use in the present day dialects can be derived from these forms.

There is no nominative or accusative case in Tibetan. The subject and the object are indicated by their position. The subject of transitive verb is put in the case of the agent. Tibetan also possesses a case denoting motion to or into. [LSI pp. 25-27]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives do not differ in form from nouns. They follow the noun they qualify or, if they precede it, are put into the genitive case. [LSI p. 27]

*Pronouns.* There are in all the Tibetan dialects two demonstrative pronouns corresponding to English 'this' and 'that' respectively. In classical Tibetan they are *adi* 'this' and *de*, 'that'. Due to the absence of relative pronouns, relative participles are used instead. [LSI p. 27]

*Verbs.* Though the Tibetan verb is a noun, it is often capable of denoting action with reference to a definite time. Many verbs have different bases in the present, in the past, in the future and in the imperative. These bases are formed partly by adding prefixes and suffixes or by changing the initial consonant, and partly by changing the vowel of the base. Thus, the present base *gtong*, 'gives', has a past base *btang*, a future base *gtang*, and an imperative base *thong*.

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No definite rules can be given about the use of prefixes in the various tense bases. The same prefixes are commonly used to form ordinary casual and active verbs. The usual case suffixes are added to form various participles and verbal nouns.

The last verb of a sentence must take an additional 'assertive particle', which indicates that the action implied really takes place. In classical dialect this assertive particle is the vowel *o*, before which a final consonant is doubled. Thus, the past base of *lta-ba*, 'to look' is *bltas*. Its past tense would be *bltas-so* 'saw'

*Causals.* The regular method of forming transitives and causals is to prefix *s, g, d* or *b* to intransitive bases, which begin with a soft consonant. These prefixed consonants were originally separate syllables, and they still occur as such in connected forms of speech. Other causal verbs are formed by hardening the initial consonant of the intransitive base, with or without aspiration [LSI pp. 27-30]

*Order of words.* The order of words is subject, object, verb. [LSI p. 30]

*Honorific language.* In Tibetan there are practically two distinct languages running side by side. The common, in which one addresses an inferior, and which the lower classes speak among themselves, and the honorific, in which anyone addresses a superior and in which the educated classes address one another. Entirely different words are used in these languages, such as :

| | *Common* | *Honorific* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'eye' | *mig* | *spyan* | |
| 'mouth' | *kha* | *zhal* | |
| 'to see' | *mthong* | *gzigs-pa* | [LSI pp. 30-31] |

## BALTĪ OR BHOṬIĀ OF BALTISTAN

95 Baltī is the prevailing language all over Baltistan-the Lokh Buṭun of modern Kāshmīrīs—which is a part of Kashmir state. This language is closely related to the Tibetan of Tibet proper. In some respects, it represents a more ancient stage of phonetic development. It is almost devoid of tones. [LSI p. 32]

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*Pronunciation.* The vowels of open syllables, are mostly, long and those of closed syllables short. Thus, *mī*, 'man' ; *min*, 'is not'. The final *a* of the article and case suffixes is, however, short.

The consonants are broadly speaking, the same as in classsical Tibetan. Soft consonants at the end of a syllable are always hardened ; thus, *chik*, classical *gchig*, 'one'. The Tibetan *g* often becomes *kh*. Thus, *khser*, classical *gser*, 'gold'. The consonant *r* when prefixed to another consonant often becomes *sh* or *s* ; thus, *sta* or *rsta*, classical *rta*, 'horse'. Compound consonants, like classical Tibetan are also frequent in Baltī. [LSI p. 34]

*Nouns : Gender.* Gender is only distinguished in the case of animate beings.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plural is not marked, when it appears from the context.

*Case.* The nominative and accusative are not distinguished by means of suffixes. The nominative is used as the subject of intransitive verbs. The subject of the transitive verbs, on the other hand is put in the case of the agent. The suffix of that case is *-s* ; thus, *attā-s*, 'by the fathers'. [LSI pp. 34-35]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives do not differ from nouns in form. They usually precede, but sometimes also follow, the noun they qualify. [LSI p. 35]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *ngā* ; for 'thou' *khiang* respectful *yang* ; and for 'he' *khō*. *Ngayā*, 'we' excludes and *ngan-tang* includes the person addressed. *Yang*, 'thou' is used as an honorific form and perhaps also as a plural. Other forms are regular. There are no relative pronouns. Relative participles are used instead. [LSI p. 36]

*Verbs.* The conjugation of verbs is, broadly speaking, the same as in classical Tibetan. The verb substantive is formed from the bases *in*, *yot*, and *duk*. The base of the present tense is identical with the root of the verb. The usual present tense of finite verbs is formed by adding suffixes- *nuk*, *et* and *at-* to the present base. E. g., *teang-nuk* 'I' or 'we strike', *zer-et* 'he says',

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*ong-at* 'he comes'. The past tense is formed by adding *s* to the present base, as *zers* 'said'. Compound part is effected by adding *et* or *at* to the past base, usually giving the meaning of a perfect. The termination for the future is *uk*; thus *teang-uk* 'I shall strike'. Some verbs have a separate imperative base formed by changing the vowel *a* of the present base to *o*. *Zō*, 'eat', base *zā*.

*Passive voice*. There is no passive voice. Passivity is sufficiently indicated by the absence of the case of the agent in the subject. Thus, *thop-pa song-s-et*, 'to be found went, he is found'.

*Negative verbs*. The negative particle is a prefixed *mā*; thus, *mā-rgal-ba*, 'did not pass'. [LSI pp. 37-38]

*Order of words*. The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. [LSI p. 38]

## PURIK

96 The Purik dialect is spoken in Purik, a part of Baltistan.

Purik is closely connected with Baltī and Ladakhī, and it can best be described as the connecting link between the two. [LSI p. 42]

*Pronunciation*. Final *a* is long if it occurs in the base of a word, and short if it occurs in a termination; thus, *mā*, 'mother'; *la*, 'to'. Final *gs* and *ks* are likely to be pronounced *gh*, *kh* respectively. Thus, *Ladvags* is often pronounced *Ladakh*, and this pronunciation gave rise to the spelling *Ladakh*. Tones are not significant in the dialect. [LSI p. 42]

*Prefixes*. Prefixes are mainly pronounced in the same way as in Baltī and Ladakhī. [LSI p. 42]

*Article*. There is no real definite article in the dialect. The numeral *chik*, 'one', is used as an indefinite article. [LSI p. 42]

*Nouns*. There is no grammatical gender. The natural gender (sex) is distinguished by using separate words or by adding suffixes, such as *phō* and *pō*, 'male'; *mō* 'female'.

*Case*. The various cases are formed in the same way as in Baltī and Ladakhī. [LSI pp. 42-43]

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*Adjectives.* Adjectives are formed as in Ladakhī and Baltī. The suffixes *-khan* and *-chan* form possessive adjectives. The particle of comparison is *basang* ; compare Ladakhī *sang*.

[LSI p. 43]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' are *ngā*, *ngā-rang* ; for 'thou' are *khyod*, *khye-rang*, *yerang*, *ya-rang* ; and for 'he' are *khō*, *khō-rang*. There are no relative pronouns in the dialect. The interrogative pronouns are sometimes used instead in connection with participles. Thus *yul-la chī yot-pa*, 'country-in what being, all that is in the country'. [LSI pp. 43-44]

*Verbs.* Verb substantive, imperative and past are formed, as in Baltī and Ladakhī. The present tense is formed by adding *-et* or *-duk* and sometimes base alone is used. E.g. *chhēt* 'I go', *rdung-duk*, 'I strike'. Future is formed by adding *-uk*, or after nasals also *-nuk*, e.g., *zer -uk* 'I shall say'.

*Verbal nouns.* Tense bases, with or without the suffixes *-pa*, *chā* and *-chas* are used as verbal nouns.

*Participles.* The verbal nouns are also used as participles. Thus, *rches- pa*, 'beloved' ; *tang -ma met -pa*, 'giving was not, he did not give'.

*Passive voice.* There is no passive voice. Passivity is sufficiently indicated by the absence of the suffix of the agent.

[LSI pp. 43-45]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, indirect object, direct object, verb. [LSI p. 45]

## LADAKHĪ

97 Ladakhī is spoken in Ladakh—the Boḍ Buṭun of the modern Kashmīrīs—a part of Kashmir State. [LSI p. 51]

*Dialects.* The dialect of Ladakh is not the same all over the area. The dialect of Khalatsa and of Lower Ladakh generally has preserved some old features which have been lost in Leh dialect. Francke distinguishes three sub-dialects of Ladakhī ; viz., Sham, Leh and Rong, the difference among these is principally one of pronunciation :

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| *English* | *Sham* | *Leh* | *Rong* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 'box' | *sgam* | *gham* | *gham* |
| 'dry' | *skampo* | *skampo* | *hampo* |
| 'secretly' | *sbaste* | *vaste* | *vaste* |
| 'bird' | *bya* | *ja* | *ja* |

The dialect described below is that of Leh. [LSI pp. 52-53]

*Pronunciation.* The vowels are the same as in classical Tibetan. They are long when final (except the final *a* of case suffixes and the article) and short in all other cases.

Soft consonants are hardened at the end of words, except before case suffixes. Thus, *mik*, 'eye'; *mig-gi*, 'of the eye'. The consonant *b* between two vowels or preceded by *ng*, *r*, *l*, and *b* is pronounced like English *v*.

Compound sounds are the same as in classical Tibetan. Several prefixed sounds are however silent. Thus. *ka*, classical Tibetan *bka*, 'word'. The pronunciation of others is modified in various ways.

Prefixes *r* and *s* are often interchanged, and both are often substituted for *b*, *d* and g. Thus *bde-mo* becomes *rde-mo* 'nice'; *rgos* classical *dgos*, 'necessary'; *stam*, classical *gtam*, 'speech'. Prefixes before *l* become *h*. A mute consonant is often dropped before *r* and a preceding *s* then often becomes *sh*; thus, *ra*, classical *dgra*, 'enemy', *shra*, classical *skra*, 'hair'. A final *l* is often dropped; thus *slel* becomes *le*, name of the capital of Ladakh. Nasals are often interchanged; thus *dngul* and *mul*, 'silver'. [LSI pp. 53-54]

*Tones.* Like Baltī and Purik, Ladakhī is, generally speaking, devoid of tones. [LSI p. 54]

*Articles.* There are no definite articles. The numeral *chik*, 'one', is used as an indefinite article. [LSI p. 54]

*Nouns: Gender.* Gender is distinguished as in other connected dialects by using different words or by adding suffixes. Thus, *mi* 'man'; *bo-mo*, 'woman'.

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*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plural is not indicated when it appears from the context.

*Case.* The mere base, without any suffix is used as a nominative and an accusative.

The subject of transitive verbs is in the case of the agent in Khalatse and Lower Ladakh dialects, but the case of the agent does not differ from the genitive in Leh and Upper Ladakh.

The suffix of the dative is *-la*, or, in ordinary conversation usually *-a*, before which a final consonant is doubled.

The locative and the terminative are usually replaced by the dative. Other relations are indicated by means of postpositions, which are usually added to the genitive. [LSI pp. 54-55]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives usually follow the word they qualify; thus, *sta rgyalla*, 'a good house'. When the adjective precedes the qualified noun, it is put in the genitive; thus, *dambă chhos*, 'the holy religion'. Comparison is effected by adding *sang* to the compared noun, which is then often put in the genitive. [LSI p. 55]

*Pronouns.* Some of the forms of personal pronouns are, *nga*, *nga-rang*, 'I'; *nga-zha*, 'we, i.e. I and they'; *ngatang*, 'we, i.e., I and you'; *khyot*, *khyo-rang*, *nye-rang*, 'thou'; *khyo-zha*, *nye-zha-rang*, 'you'; *kho*, *kho-rang*, *khong*, 'he, she, it'. There are no relative pronouns. The interrogative pronouns are sometimes used instead. [LSI p. 56]

*Verbs.* Verbs are conjugated in the same way as in classical Tibetan. Only a few verbs can be used in a transitive as well as in an intransitive sense. Verb substantive and past are formed, as in Baltī and Ladakhī. The present tense is formed by adding one of the auxiliaries *duk*, *at* (lower Ladakh *et*) and *ok* to the present base. Thus, *tang-duk*, 'gives', *yong-ngat*, 'comes'; *in nok*, 'is', Future is formed by adding *in* to the present base. Thus, *tang-in*, 'shall give'.

The imperative base is formed by changing an *a* of the base to *o*, and by adding an *s* to verbs ending in a vowel. In verbs

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ending in a consonant and not containing an *a*, the present base is used in the imperative.

*Verbal nouns.* Several tense bases are used as verbal nouns and postpositions are added to them. The most common verbal noun is formed by adding the suffix *-ches*, *-chas* or *-che*. The verbal noun is inflected like an ordinary noun.

*Passive voice.* There is no passive voice. Passivity is sufficiently indicated by the absence of the suffix of the agent in the subject.

*Causal.* A causative is formed by adding *chhuk-ches*, 'to put in', to the present base ; thus, *chha-chhuk-duk*, 'he makes go, he sends off'. [LSI pp. 56-59]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. The genitive precedes the qualified noun, adjective and numerals usually follow it. [LSI p. 59]

## LAHUL DIALECT

98 Lahul dialect is spoken in Lahul along the head waters of the Chandra and Bhaga down to within fifteen miles of their junction, and also throughout the mountain portion of Chamba which lies below the western Himalayas. This dialect is a kind of link between Western and Central Tibetan. It does not possess the tones of Central Tibetan. [LSI p. 69]

*Phonology.* Single initial consonants are the same as in classical Tibetan.

Final *g* and often also final *d*, are very imperfectly sounded, resulting in an abrupt short pronunciation of the preceding vowel. Thus, *tho*, classical *thog*, 'roof' ; *gon-me*, classical *mgon-med*, 'helpless'.

A final *s*, preceded by a vowel, is changed to *i*, and, preceded by a consonant, is dropped. Thus *nai*, classical *nas*, 'barley' ; *nag*, classical *nags* 'forest'.

Hard consonants and *r* are changed to cerebrals. Thus *ṭad-pa*, classical *krad-pa*, 'shoe' ; *sr* becomes *shr* ; *zl* becomes *d* ; *sby*



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becomes *zh* ; and *db* is dropped ; thus, *shring-mo*, classical *sring-mo*, 'sister'. In most other cases the compounds are simplified in such a way that the first component is dropped. Thus, *log-pa*, classical *klog-pa*, 'to read'. [LSI pp. 69-70]

## CENTRAL TIBETAN

Central Tibetan comprises the central dialect of Tibet, spoken in the provinces of U and Tsang, and several smaller dialects spoken in India, Nepal, Sikkim and Bhutan. These dialects agree generally in grammar. The phonetic system is essentially the same. The use of a system of tones is their most salient feature. [LSI p. 72]

## CENTRAL DIALECT

**99** The dialect of central Tibet is the *lingua franca* of the Tibetan country, and it is generally understood everywhere in Tibet. The home of the central dialect does not fall within the scope of this survey, but as it has been brought by immigrants to various parts of India, it is being described here. [LSI p. 72]

*Pronunciation.* Initial soft consonants are pronounced with strong aspiration so that the actual sound is almost that of the hard consonant ; *bhu* and *bu*, classical Tibetan *bu*, 'son'. Final *g* is pronounced as *k*, and *b* generally as *p*. When *d*, *n*, *s*, and sometimes also *l* occur finally, they modify a preceding vowel so that *a* becomes *ä* ; *o* becomes *ö*, and *u* becomes *ü*. *d* and *s* are dropped. Thus, *tham-chä*, classical *tham-chad*, 'all', etc.

Compound consonants are simplified in various ways. The written language, on the other hand, retains them in accordance with the practice of classical Tibetan. [LSI pp. 73-74]

*Article.* In the modern colloquial, numeral *chik*, 'one' is used as an indefinite article. The demonstrative pronouns *di*, 'this', *dhe*, 'that', are often used in the colloquial as a definite article ; thus, *mi-dhe*, 'the man', ; *tä-pa di*, 'the ladder'. [LSI p. 74]

*Nouns : Gender.* Gender is distinguished by means of different words or by adding suffixes or prefixes as *pa*, *po*, etc., 'male' ; *ma*, *mo* etc., 'female'.

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*Case.* The subject of intransitive verbs and the object are not distinguished by means of suffixes. The dative and locative are formed by adding *-la*. The suffix of the ablative is *-na*, or sometimes, *-la*. The genitive is formed by adding *-gi* after final *k* and *ng* ; *i or yi* after vowels, and *-kyi* in all other cases. [LSI p. 74]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives almost always follow the noun they qualify. [LSI p. 74]

*Pronouns.* Personal pronoun for 'I' is *nga* ; for 'thou' is *khyŏ*, *khye*, and for 'he' is *kho*, honorific *khong*.

The plural is formed by adding the usual suffixes. [LSI pp. 74-75]

*Verbs.* Several bases are used as a verb substantive. The most common ones are *yin-pa*, *re-pa*, *yŏ-pa* and *duk-pa* or *du-pa*. An intensive verb substantive is *mŏ-pa*, 'to be indeed'.

The most common present is formed by adding *-yŏ* or *-du* to the participle ending in *ghi*. A common past tense is formed by adding *song*, or, in the case of many verbs, *jhung* ; thus *shi-song*, 'died'. The present is commonly used as a future ; thus, *ngă dung-ghi-yin*, 'I shall beat'.

The base alone is used as an imperative. The imperative base of the classical dialect is often preserved ; *do-wa*, 'to go' ; *song* 'go'.

*Verbal nouns and participles.* The various tenses are in reality verbal nouns. The most common verbal noun is, however, formed by adding *-pa* or, if the base in classical Tibetan ends in a vowel or in *r* and *l*, *wa* ; *jhye-pa*, 'to do' ; *do-wa*, 'to go'. They are also used as verbal and relative particles. Conjunctive participles are formed by adding case suffixes to the base or by means of special suffixes, such as *-de* and *-te* ; *-ching* and *-shing* ; thus, *song-te*, 'having gone'. [LSI p. 75]

## SPITI DIALECT

100 The Spiti dialect is spoken in whole of the district of Spiti. In several forms it agrees with Ladakhī and connected forms of

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speech. In the most characteristic feature, however, viz., in the use of tones, it marches with Central Tibetan. [LSI p. 83]

*Phonology.* The vowels are the same as in classical Tibetan. *i* is pronounced as *ä*, thus, *a-phä*, 'of the father'. Initial soft consonants, which are not preceded by a prefix in classical Tibetan, are pronounced with a strong aspiration. Such words are pronounced in the deep tone. Thus, *ghang*, classical *gang*, 'which' *z* and *zh* occurring in the beginning of words are changed to *s* and *sh* respectively. Final *s* is changed to *i* or if preceded by a consonant, dropped. Thus, *rī*, classical *ris*, 'quarter', *shū*, classical *shubs*, 'case'.

Compound consonants are simplified in various ways. Gutturals before *y* are retained, but the following *y* is dropped if it precedes an *i* : thus, *khi*, classical *khyi*, 'dog'. Labials and *y* become palatals. Thus, *chhed*, classical *phyed*, 'half'. In most of the other cases the first component of compound consonants is dropped.

Tones and accents are the same as in the central dialect. The difference between low toned aspirates and high toned aspirates is more marked than in other dialects. [LSI pp. 83-84]

*Inflexional system.* The inflexional system in most characteristics agrees with classical Tibetan.

The particle of comparison is *sang* as in Ladakhī. The verb substantive is formed from the bases *yin*, *yod* and *dug*. The usual verbal noun is formed as in Ladakhī. Thus *chha-che*, 'to be'. The participle is *song-khan*, 'gone'. [LSI pp. 84-85]

## NYAMKAT

**101** Nyamkat dialect is spoken along the upper course of the Satlej in Kanawar. It is closely related to Spiti and Jad. [LSI p. 86]

*Phonology.* The phonetical system is in most characteristics the same as in Spiti and Tehri Garhwal.

A final *s* is dropped, and a preceding vowel is lengthened; thus, *khang-zhing-nā*, 'from the property'. In some cases,

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however, *s* is changed to *i* as in Spiti. Cf. *soi-ne*, classical *zos-nas* 'having eaten'. The suffix *-pa*, *-ba*, takes the form *-wa* after vowels, *ng*, *r*, and probably also after *l*; thus, *shi-sha-wa*, 'died'. Double consonants are simplified in the usual way. Compound consonants containing *r* as the last component are changed to cerebrals; thus *ṭhu-gu*, classical *phru-gu*, 'a son'. In other compounds the first consonant is dropped: thus, *kon-chok*, classical *dkon-mchhog*, 'God'. [LSI p. 86]

*Inflexional system.* The suffix of the case of the agent is *-su* as in Jaḍ; thus, *aba-su*, 'by the father'. The other cases are formed as in classical Tibetan.

The usual forms of the past add *-song* or *-pa*, *-wa*; thus, *zer-song*, 'said'; *zer-wa*, 'said'. In the imperative suffixes, such as *-go*, *-chuk* are usually added. The usual form of the verbal noun ends in *-ja*; thus, *za-ja*, 'to eat'. [LSI p. 87]

## JAḌ DIALECT

102 Jaḍ dialect is spoken in Tehri Garhwal. The dialect is closely related to the Tibetan spoken in Spiti. The material available, being insufficient, can only throw light on the general character of the dialect. [LSI p. 91]

*Phonology.* The phonetic system is, mainly, the same as in Spiti. Initial soft consonants are pronounced with a very strong aspiration, as a consequence they usually appear as hard ones. Final *g* is pronounced as *k*, and final *d* is sometimes dropped and sometimes pronounced as *t*. Final *s* is always dropped. Thus, *gyal-kham*, classical *rgyal-khams*, 'country'. Double consonants are simplified, usually so that the first one is dropped. Labials conjunct with *y* become palatal. Thus, *cha-ba*, classical *bya-ba*, 'deeds'; *chhi-la*, classical *phyi-la*, 'outside', and so forth. When the last component of a compound sound is *r*, the whole compound is pronounced as a cerebral. Thus, *ṭa*, classical *skra*, 'hair'; *ṭu*, classical *gru*, 'ship'; etc.

Tones and accent are probably the same as in the central dialect. [LSI pp. 91-92]

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*Inflexional system.* The various suffixes used in the inflexion of nouns and verbs are mainly the same as in classical Tibetan.

The most usual form of the past is the verbal noun ending in *-pa* ; thus, *shu-ba*, 'said'. A peripharastic past is formed by adding *song*, 'went' ; thus, *chung-song*, 'became'.

In addition to the classical verbal noun ending in *-pa* and similar suffixes, we also find such as are formed by adding a suffix corresponding to Ladakhī *-ches*. Thus, *do-cha*, 'to sit', *dung-sha*, 'beating' and so forth. [LSI p. 92]

## GARHWAL DIALECT

**103** Garhwal dialect is spoken in Garhwal. The dialect is closely related to the form of Tibetan spoken by Jaḍs of Tehri Garhwal.

The materials available do not appear to be trust-worthy, but there cannot be any doubt about the general character of the dialect. [LSI p. 100]

*Phonology.* Soft initial consonants are probably pronounced with a strong aspiration, so as to be scarcely distinguishable from the corresponding hard sounds.

Final *s* is dropped. Cf. *nyi*, classical Tibetan *gnyis*, 'two'. *zh* occurs as *sh*, *j*, and *s*. The actual pronunciation is probably *sh*.

Compound consonants are simplified. The first consonant is dropped if the last component is not a *y* or an *r*. Thus, *leb*, classical *slebs* 'came' ; *ta*, classical *lta*, 'see'.

The genitive suffix *-gyi*, *-kyi* becomes *-chi*. Compound sounds containing an *r* as the last compound are changed to cerebrals, Thus, thuk-pa, classical *a-khrug-pa*, 'quarrel', etc.

Tones and accents are probably the same as in other dialects of Central Tibetan. [LSI pp. 100-101]

*Pronouns.* Some of the forms of the personal pronouns are : *hago* and *ogo*, 'I' ; *khyo* and *khe*, 'thou' ; and *kho-ba*, 'he' ; etc. [LSI p. 101]

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*Verbs.* A compound present can be formed by adding *dug*, 'is', to a participle ending in *-khan*; thus, *shi-khan-dug*, 'am dying'. The usual verbal noun ends in *-ja*; thus, *ḍo-ja*, 'going'. The conjunctive participle ends in *-tin*; thus, *ḍo-tin*, 'have gone'.

[LSI p. 101]

## KĀGATE

**104** Kāgate dialect is spoken in Eastern Nepal and in Darjeeling. It is closely related to the so-called Sharpa and to the Tibetan of Sikkim. [LSI p. 106]

*Pronunciation.* The short *u* is often pronounced like *ü* in German, and it is often written *i* for representing this pronunciation. Cf. *tin*, classical Tibetan *bdun*, 'seven'. The vowel *e* apparently also represents the sounds *ä* and *ö* (of German 'Bär' and *bös*). Cf. *ne*, Lhasa dialect *nä*, 'from'; *te* Lhasa dialect *dö*, 'to sit', etc.

Soft initials are usually hardened; thus, *pu*, classical *bu*, 'son'. On the other hand, hard initials are occasionally softened when preceded by vowels or nasals in compound words; thus, *tham-je*, classical *thams-chad*, 'all'. Final *g* is usually changed to *k* and *b* to *p*. Final *d* and *s* are dropped and the preceding vowel is modified. Thus, *khyo*, classical *khyod*, 'thou'; *tham-je*, classical *thams-chad*, 'all'.

A subscribed *y* occurring as second component in compound consonants, in classical Tibetan, when followed by *i* and *e* is dropped. *r* is also dropped after *k*, *g* and *d* and probably also after other mutes. In some of the compound consonants the first consonant is dropped. [LSI pp. 106-107]

*Articles.* The numeral *chik*, 'one', is used as an indefinite, and the demonstrative pronoun *di*, 'this' as a definite article.

[LSI p. 107]

*Nouns : Gender.* Gender is distinguished by using different words or by adding qualifying affixes; thus, *no*, 'brother', *mu-mu*, 'sister', etc.

*Number.* The usual suffix for the plural is *-kya*; thus, *aba-kya*, 'fathers'.

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*Case.* The suffix of the genitive is *-i*, *-ki* or *-gi*. This form is also used as an agentive case. [LSI p. 107]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives sometimes precede and sometimes follow the noun they qualify. [LSI p. 107]

*Pronouns.* Personal pronoun for 'I' is, *nga*; for 'thou' is *khyo*; and for 'he' is '*kho*'. The pronouns are inflected like nouns. [LSI p. 107].

*Verbs.* The usual bases of the verb substantive are *e* and *du*. The verb is still virtually a noun. The subject of transitive verb is put in the agentive case, and the plural suffix *-kya* can be added. A present is formed by adding *yin* to a participle ending in *-ka*, *-pa* etc.; thus *rob-ka-yin*, 'I strike'. The participle ending in *-ba* or *-pa* is commonly also used as a past tense; thus, *nyo-ba* 'I brought, thou broughtest'. The present is also used as a future; thus, *don*, 'I will go'. As in classical Tibetan an *a* is changed to *o* in the imperative; thus, *song*, 'go', *so*, 'eat'.

*Verbal nouns and participles.* The most common verbal noun is formed by adding *-che* or *-ze*; thus, *lap-che*, 'to say'; *do-ze*, 'to go'. Adverbial participles are formed by adding postpositions to the base; thus, *lap-pa*, 'saying in, if you say'. Conjunctive participles are formed by adding *-di*, *-ti* or *di-ma-rang*. Relative participles are formed by adding *-ken*, or *-gen* and *-ba*. [LSI pp. 107-108]

## SHARPA

**105** Sharpa dialect is spoken in Darjeeling and Sikkim. It is closely connected with Kāgate and Dānjong-Kä. It can be described as a form of the latter dialect, as it has very few characteristics of its own. [LSI p. 113]

*Pronunciation.* The vowels are modified in various ways usually under the influence of following consonants. Sometimes also concurrent vowels are contracted; thus *di*, classical *agro-i*. 'of the going'; *khi* 'thy', from *khyo*, 'thou', and so forth.

Final *d* is often left unchanged; thus, *dod*, 'sit'; *yod*, 'is'.

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Such forms are due to the influence of orthography of the classical language, and *d* is dropped or changed to *t* in the actual pronunciation, modifying the preceding vowel.

Final *s* is probably always changed to *i*, which then coalesces with the preceding vowel. It is, however, often retained in writing ; thus, *ngas*, 'by me'.

Compound consonants are mainly simplified in the same way as in Kāgate. *Py*, *phy* and *by* become *ch*, *chh* and *ch*, respectively. Compounds consisting of a mute consonant followed by an *r* are changed to the corresponding cerebral Cf. *ṭog*, classical *grogs*, 'friend'. In most other cases the first consonant is dropped.

[LSI pp. 113-114]

*Articles.* The numeral *chig*, 'one', used as an indefinite, and demonstrative pronouns as a definite article ; thus, *mi-chig*, 'a man' ; *u-ju-te*, 'the elder brother'. [LSI p. 114]

*Nouns : Gender.* Gender is distinguished in the usual way by means of affixes or by using different words. [LSI p. 114]

*Number.* The usual suffix of the plural is *-tsho*, 'multitude', thus, *papa-tsho*, 'fathers'. [LSI p. 115]

*Case.* The various cases are, broadly speaking, formed as in classical Tibetan.

The agentive case, which is also used as an instrumental, is formed by adding *-s* to the base or to the genitive, which is probably pronounced as *i*. [LSI p. 115]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives follow the noun they qualify, or if they precede it, are put in the genitive. [LSI p. 115]

*Pronouns.* Personal pronoun(s) for 'I' is *nga* ; for 'thou' are *khyod*, *khyed*, *khyo* ; and for 'he', is *kho*. [LSI p. 115]

*Verbs.* The verb substantive is formed from various bases, such as, *yin*, *yod*, *nok*, etc. The base alone is used as a present ; thus, *shi*, 'I die'. The most common present is formed by adding *gi* and *yot* in the first and *nog* in the second and third persons.



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the past base alone is used in forms, such as *nang*, classical *gnang*, 'gavest'; *tor*, classical *gtor*, 'he threw'. The participle ending in *-pa*, *-ba*, etc. is also used as past. Another past tense is formed by adding *-up* and doubling a final consonant; thus *gal-lup*, 'we went'. Suffix of the future is *yong*; thus, *ngas dung-yong*, 'I shall strike'.

*Verbal nouns and participles.* The base alone is used as verbal noun, thus, *tsho-la*, 'in order to feed'. A conjunctive participle is formed by adding *nä* or *ni* to this noun; thus, *dung-nä*, 'having beaten'. [LSI pp. 115-116]

## DÄNJONG-KÄ OR BHŌṬIĀ OF SIKKIM

**106** Dänjong-kä is spoken in the northern half of the state of Sikkim and in Darjeeling district. [LSI p. 119]

*Pronunciation.* Final vowels are apt to be dropped. Cf. *pum* classical *bu-mo*, 'daughter'. The initial soft consonants are pronounced with a strong aspiration, so that they sound like hard consonants, with or without aspiration. Cf. *kyap*, classical *rgyab*, 'beat'. Final *g* and *b* are pronounced as *k* and *p*, respectively. Final *d*, *l*, *s* and occasionally also *n* are dropped modifying the sound of a preceding vowel. Cf. *kä* classical *skad*, 'sound', *sö*, classical *gson*, 'alive', etc.

Compound consonants ending in *r*, viz., *kr*, *khr*, and *gr* are changed to *ky*, *khy* and *gy* respectively, and others are changed to cerebrals; thus, *kyok-she*, classical *dkrog-pa*, 'to churn' and *ṭe* classical *dre*, 'mule'. In most of the other compounds the first component is dropped. [LSI pp. 119-121]

*Article.* The numeral *chi*, 'one', is used as an indefinite and the pronoun *di*, 'this' as a definite article. [LSI p. 121]

*Nouns.* The inflexion of nouns in most characteristics agrees with the Tibetan of Lhasa.

The suffix of the genitive is *-kyi*, *-ki*. The agentive case is formed by lengthening the final *-i* of the genitive. [LSI p. 121].

*Adjectives.* Adjectives follow the noun they qualify. The

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particle of comparison is, *-la*, i.e., the suffix of the ablative. [LSI p. 121].

*Pronouns.* Personal pronoun for 'I' is *nga*, for 'thou' is *chho*, and for 'he' *kho*, *khu*. [LSI p. 121]

*Verbs.* The verb substantive is usually *in* or *yin* in the first person and *bă*, *pā* or *mă* in the second and third.

The usual present tense is formed by adding *-do* or *-do-in* in the first, and *-bă* or *-do*, *-do-bă*, *-to-bă* in the second and third persons. A common past tense is formed by adding *-zhe*, *-che* or *-jhe*; thus, *phi-zhe*, 'he wrote'. The usual future is formed by adding the verb substantive to the verbal noun ending in *-she* or *-nyi*; thus, *nga thung-she-in*, 'I shall drink'. The base alone is used as an imperative; thus, *sa*, 'eat'.

*Verbal nouns and participles.* The usual verbal noun is formed by adding *-she* or *-nyi*.

The most common relative participle is formed by adding *-khen*. Conjunctive participles are formed by adding *-ti*, *di*, etc.; *song-ti* and *song-di*, 'having gone'. [LSI pp. 121-122]

## LHOKE OR BHOṬIA OF BHUTAN

**107** Lhoke dialect is spoken in Bhutan. Its speakers are also found in the adjoining districts of Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri. Lhoke dialect is a form of Tibetan closely related to that prevailing in Sikkim. [LSI p. 129]

*Pronunciation.* The Lhoke dialect possesses the vowels *ă*, *ŏ* and *ŭ*. Final vowels are often dropped. Cf. *bum*, classical *bu-mo*, 'daughter'. Soft initial consonants are apparently pronounced with a strong aspiration so that the actual sound is almost that of the corresponding hard consonant. Cf. *bha*, classical *ba*, 'cow'. Final soft consonants are hardened; thus *chik*, classical *gchig*, 'one'. Final *s* is always, final *d* and *r* commonly, and final *l* and *n* sometimes, dropped. Thus, *shŭ-la*, classical *shus-las*, 'behind'.

In compound consonants *r* after the gutturals is replaced by *y*; with other consonants it coalesces into a cerebral; thus *kya*, classical *skra*, 'hair'; *thuk*, classical *phrugu*, 'young'.

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In some of the compounds the first consonant is dropped. Thus, *lang*, classical *glang*, 'bull' ; *che*, classical *lche*, 'tongue'. [LSI pp. 130-131]

*Article.* The numeral *chik*, 'one', is used as an indefinite, and the demonstrative pronouns *di*, 'this' ; *de* and *te*, 'that', as a definite article. [LSI p. 131]

*Nouns : Gender.* Gender is distinguished by using different words or by adding affixes, such as, *pho*, 'male' ; *mo* and *ma*, 'female'.

*Case.* The case suffixes are, broadly the same as in Ḍänjong-kä ; dative *-lo*, *-lu* or *-la* ; ablative *-lä*, *nä* ; locative *-na* ; genitive, *-kyi*, *-ki*, *-gyi*, etc. [LSI p. 131]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives follow the noun they qualify. [LSI p. 131]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *nga* ; for 'thou' *khyöt*, *khyö*, *chhot*, *chho* ; and for 'he' *kho*, *khu*. [LSI p. 131]

*Verbs.* The conjugation of verbs is broadly the same as in Ḍänjong-kä. The verb substantive is formed from the bases *in* or *yin* ; *yot*, or *yö* ; *bet* or *bä*, *mä* ; *wat* or *wä*, *pä*. The present tense is formed by adding *-do* or *-do-yin* ; thus *gyo-do-yin*, '(I) go' *gyo-do*, '(thou) goest'. The base alone is also used as a present ; thus *nga dung*, 'I strike'. The simple base, or the past base, is commonly used as a past tense ; thus *kye*, classical *skyes*, 'he became'. A common past tense is formed by adding various forms of the verb substantive to a verbal noun or participle. The common future is formed as an Ḍänjong -kä by adding *-yin* to a verbal noun ending in *-mi* ; thus *dung-mi-yin*, 'I shall strike'. The base is often used as an imperative ; thus, *gyo* and *song*, 'go'.

*Verbal nouns and participles.* The base alone is used as a verbal noun ; thus, *za-rung*, 'eating-through, through he ate'. The most common suffix is *-ba*, *-pa* or *-wa*, which is modified in the usual way. The same form is also used as a relative participle. Conjunctive participles are formed by adding *-di*, *-nä*, *-wä*, etc. ; thus, *dung-di-gi*, 'having beaten' ; *bak-te*, 'carrying', etc. [LSI pp. 131-132]

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## KHAMS DIALECT

**108** The Khams dialect is spoken in the eastern division of Tibet. Although, it does not fall within the scope of the survey, yet being of considerable interest, some information about it, is being given. This dialect, in two important points, agrees with Western as against Central Tibetan. There is no tone system and the various compound consonants are not so generally simplified as in Central Tibetan. [LSI p. 136]

*Phonology.* The vowels *i* and *u* are changed to *e* and *ö*, respectively. The two vowels *a* and *'a* of the classical Tibetan are distinguished in Khams. The former remains a vowel, but the latter has developed into *gh* ; thus, *ghar-po*, classical *'ar-po*, 'angry'.

The vowels of the base are sometimes modified by a following consonant, not however to the same extent as in Central Tibetan.

Initial non-compound consonants are mostly left unchanged.

Final *s* is always dropped, and the preceding vowel is lengthened ; thus *ri*, classical *ris*, 'from'. Compound consonants ending in a subscribed *y* in the literary dialect are left unchanged if the first consonant is a guttural, and become palatals if it is a labial ; thus *kyeng*, classical *kyang*, 'even'. Mute consonants and *r* become cerebrals ; *sr* is replaced by the original *str* and *hr* becomes *shr* ; thus, *ṭhem*, classical *khrims*, 'right'; *string-mo*, classical *sring-mo*, 'sister'. *skr* becomes *shṭr* ; *sgr* becomes *zdr* ; *spy* becomes *shw* ; *spr* becomes *shṭr* : *sb* and *sby* become *zu* ; *sbr* becomes *ḍ* ; *smr* becomes *shn*, and so forth ; thus, *shtra*, classical *skra*, 'hair' ; *zual-wa*, classical *sbal-ba*, 'frog', etc.

The prefixed *r*, *l*, *s* and *m* remain unchanged, but *g*, *d*, *db* and *b* undergo changes. [LSI pp. 136-137]

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## 109 LIST OF SELECT WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE DIALECTS OF THE TIBETAN LANGUAGE

| *English* | *Baltī* | *Purik* | *Ladākhī* | *Spiti* | *Lhoke* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| one | chik | chik | chik | chig | chik |
| two | nyīs | nyīs | nyis | nyi | nyi |
| three | sum | sum | sum | sum | sum |
| four | ibzhī | zhbī, sbyī | zhi | shi | zhi |
| hand | lak-pa | lakpa | lak-pa | lak-pa | lak-pa |
| foot | rkang-ma | rkang-ma | rkang-pa | kang-pa | kang-pa |
| head | gō | gō | go | go | gu |
| a father | atā chik | atā chik | a-ba-zhik | a-pha shik | ap chik |
| of a father | atā chig-ī | atā chig-ī | a-ba-zhig-gi | a-pha shig-gi | ap chigi |
| to a father | atā chik-la | atā chik-la | a-ba-zhik-la | a-pha shik-la | ap chik-lo |
| two fathers | atā nyīs | abā nyīs | a-ba-nyis | a-pha nyi | ap nyi |
| I am | ngā yot | nga-rang in | nga in | ngã yin | nga yin |
| thou art | khiang yot | khye-rang in | khyot in | khyut yin | khyot-yin-bet |
| he is | kho-yot | khō in | kho in | kho yin | kho bet |
| we are | ngayā yot | nga-tang in | nga-zha in | nga-zha yin | nga-chak yin |
| you are | khye-tang yot | khyentang in | khye-zha-in | kho-zha in | khyot yin-bet |
| they are | khong yot | khong in | kho-gun in | kho-ba yin | khong bet |
| I was | ngā yot-pa | nga-rang yot-pin | nga yot-pin | nga yod-dın | x |

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| *English* | *Baltī* | *Purik* | *Ladākhī* | *Spiti* | *Lhoke* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| thou wast | khiang yot-pa | khye-rang yot-pin | khyot yot-pin | khyud yod-din | x |
| he was | khō yot-pa | khō yot-pin | khō yot-pin | kho yod-din | x |
| we were | ngayā yot-pa | nga-tang yot-pin | nga-zha yot-pin | nga-zha yod-din | x |
| you were | khye-tang yot-pa | khyentang yot-pin | khye-zha yot-pin | khyo-zha yod-din | x |
| they were | khong yot-pa | khong yot-pin | kho-gun yot-pin | kho-ba yod-din | x |
| I shall be | ngā dug-nk | ngā dug-in | nga dug-in | x | nga thä-gyu |
| I beat | ngā-se t$^{e}$ang-nuk | nga-s rdung-duk | ngä rdung-at | ngă gyab-ba yot | nga dung |
| thou beatest | khiang-se t$^{e}$ang-et | khye-rangis rdung-duk | kdyod-dis rdung-at | khyoi gyap duk | khyot dung |
| he beats | khō-se t$^{e}$ang-et | kho-s rdung-duk | kho-e rdung-duk | khoi gyap duk | khu dung |
| we beat | ngaya-se t$^{e}$ang-nuk | nga-tang-is rdung-duk | nga-zhä rdung-at | nga-zhă gyab-ba yot | nga-chog-gi dung |
| you beat | khyetang-se t$^{e}$ang-et | khyen-tang-is rdung-duk | khyo-zhä rdung-at | khyo-zhă gyab-ba dut | khyot dung |
| they beat | kong-se t$^{e}$ang-et | khun-t-is rdung-duk | kho-gun -nis rdung-duk | kho-bă gyap-duk | khong-gi dung |
| I beat (past) | ngā-se t$^{e}$angs, t$^{e}$angs-pa | nga-rang-is rdung-s | ngä rdungs-pin | ngă gyab-ban | nga dum yin |
| thou beatest (past) | khiang-se t$^{e}$angs-pa | khye-rang-is rdung-s | khyod-dis rdungs-pin | khyut-ki gyap-song | khyot dum yin |

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| *English* | *Balti* | *Purik* | *Ladākhī* | *Spiti* | *Lhoke* |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| he beat (past) | khō-se t$^{e}$angs-pa | kho-s rdung-s | khoe rdungs-song | khoi gyab-ban | kho dum yi |
| we beat (past) | ngaya-se t$^{e}$angs-pa | ngare-s rdung-s | nga-zhä rdungs-pin | nga-zhā gyab-ban | nga-chag-gi dum-yi |
| you beat (past) | khyetang-se t$^{e}$angs-pa | khyen-tis rdung-s | khyo-zhä rdungs-pin | khyo-zhă gyab-ban | chot dum yi |
| they beat (past) | kong-ise t$^{e}$angs-uk | khong-is rdung-s | kho-gun-nis rdungs-pin | kho-bă gyab-ban | khong-gi dum-yi |
| I shall beat | ngā-se t$^{e}$ang-uk | ngā-re-s rdung uk | nga rdung-in | ngă gyab-in | nga dung-ni yin |

[LSI pp. 140-175]

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## HIMALAYAN LANGUAGES

110 The northern region of the Himalayans is inhabited by Bhōṭiās or Tibetans. To the south we find a long series of tribes speaking dialects which all belong to the Tibeto-Burman family. Hodgson divided these tribes into two groups, distinguished by the respective use of simple or non-pronominalized, and of complex or pronominalized languages. These dialects are also spoken in Nepal, but the ramarks which follow will be restricted to the dialects spoken within the territory included under the operations of this survey. The remaining dialects would be treated as a kind of appendix.

These dialects are all Tibeto-Burman forms of speech, but many of these have features, which are not in accordance with Tibeto-Burman principles. Thus a difference is often made between words denoting animate beings and inanimate things; higher numbers are often counted in twenties and not in tens as in Tibetan, Burmese, Chinese, etc., the personal pronouns often have a dual in addition to the ordinary plural, etc.

Due to such characteristics these dialects have struck out lines of their own and have accordingly become modified in their whole structure It is observed that all these features in which these dialects differ from other Tibeto-Burman languages are in thorough agreement with the principles prevailing in the Muṇḍā forms of speech. It, therefore, seems probable that Muṇḍās, or tribes speaking a language connected with those now in use among the Muṇḍās, have once lived in the Himalayas and left their stamp on the dialects spoken at the present time.

These characteristics are seldom found together in one and the same form of speech, and some of the dialects have few, if any, traces of them If we consider the formation of verbs, the most interesting feature of these dialects, it will be found that Hodgson's classification 'into non-pronominalized and pronominalized languages' holds good for the whole field of Himalayan philology. Therefore, these dialects would be considered in the ensuing pages under the above two different headings. [LSI pp. 177-179]



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## NON-PRONOMINALIZED DIALECTS

**111** The dialects spoken in the central region of the Himalayas in Sikkim and in the valley of Nepal and to the east of it are all characterized by a great simplicity of their grammatical system. Some of them, such as Gurung and Murmī, are closely related to the Tibetan dialects. Murmī has the method of counting higher numbers in twenties. Sunwār is also characterized by the same simplicity as in the case of Gurung and Murmī. Māgari is also a dialect of the same type. The pronoun of the second person is *nang* as in some of the Nepalese dialects, and numerous dialects of Assam. In most respects, however, Māgari agrees with Gurung, Murmī, etc., in general principles, and, to a great extent, also in details of vocabulary and grammar. Paharī can be considered as a sub-dialect of Nēwārī. In Róng or Lepcha dialect there is a tendency to distinguish between such nouns as denote animate beings and such as are the names of inanimate things. In this dialect the old prefixed have been preserved as independent syllables. In this respect this dialect forms one of the links which connects Tibetan and Himalayan dialects with the Tibeto-Burman languages of Assam and Further India. Due to the imperfect materials available of Toto dialect, it is impossible to say anything for certain about its affiliation. [LSI pp. 180-181].

## GURUNG

**112** Gurung is spoken in Nepal, and also in Darjeeling and Sikkim. There are some speakers of the dialect in Lakhinpur district of Assam and also in Naga Hills.

In vocabulary and phonetical system, and also in grammatical principles, it is more closely related to Tibetan than are most Himalayan languages. [LSI p. 182]

*Pronunciation.* The consonantal system is apparently nearly the same as in Aryan dialects, such as Hindī. The aspirated soft consonants have apparently developed from other unaspirated sounds. Cf. *gho*, classical Tibetan *rgyab*, 'back'. The aspiration is so marked that such sounds are commonly pronounced as the corresponding hard unaspirated consonants. The final consonants of classical Tibetan have usually been dropped. Cf. *phe*, classical

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*pheb-pa*, 'to come' ; *mi*, classical *mig*, 'eye'. In most of the cases, the compound consonants of classical Tibetan have been simplified in Gurung. Thus, *ta*, classical *rta*, 'horse' ; *so*, classical *gson*, 'alive'. [LSI pp. 182-183]

*Article.* There is no article. The numeral *ghri*, 'one' is used as an indefinite article. [LSI p. 183]

*Nouns.* The prefix *ā-* is common before nouns of relationship. Thus, *ā-ba*, 'father' ; *ā-ma*, 'mother'. [LSI p. 183]

*Gender.* The natural gender is distinguished by using different words or else by adding suffixes, such as *-bokya*, *-dho*, *-dārhyā*, 'male' ; *-mama*, *-me*, *-murli*, 'female'. Thus, *ā-li*, 'younger brother' ; *ā-nga*, 'younger sister' ; *ra- bokya*, 'he goat' ; *ra-ma-ma*, 'she goat'. [LSI p. 183]

*Number.* There are two numbers, singular and plural. The plural is not marked when it appears from the context.

*Case.* The subject of intransitive verbs and the object are not distinguished by adding any separate suffix. The subject is put in the case of the agent which is formed adding a suffix *-ji* or *-di*. The suffix of dative is *-lā-di*, or *-lai*. The usual suffix of the genitive is *-e* or *-ye* ; thus *dhĩ-ye* 'of the house'. Other relations are indicated by means of postpositions. [LSI pp. 183-184]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives usually follow the noun they qualify, or precede it in the genitive. The particle of comparison is *bhandā*, a Naipālī loan word. [LSI p. 184]

*Numerals.* Higher numbers are counted in tens ; thus, *bhlī-chyu*, 'forty'. [LSI p. 184]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *nga* ; for 'thou' is *ki*, and for 'he' is *cha*, *ocha*. The reflexive pronouns are *khi-ye*, *thame*, 'own'. [LSI pp. 184-185]

*Verbs.* The conjugation of verbs is relatively simple. There is no change for person or number, and the verb is, on the whole, still virtually a noun. The base alone is used for the present tense ; thus, *nha-me jaga-di tõ*, 'you strike'. The suffix *-lā* or *-lā̃* is often used with the meaning of the past ; thus *nga-hyā-la*, 'I

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went'. The most characteristic suffix of the past is *-ji* or *-di*; thus *hoā-ji*, 'went'. The suffix of the future is *-mu* or *-ma*, i.e. probably the verb substantive; thus *ngai to-mu*, 'I shall strike'. The base alone is often used as an imperative. Thus, *pĭ*, 'give'; *tŏ*, 'beat'. A verbal noun is formed by adding the suffix *bā*; thus, *nācha la-bā*, 'dance making, dancing.' [LSI pp. 185-186]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. [LSI p. 186]

## MURMI

**113** The home of Murmi tribe is the valley of Nepal and its whole vicinity. Murmi speakers are also found in considerable numbers in Darjeeling and Sikkim.

Murmi is verly closely related to Gurung. Like that latter form of speech it is more intimately connected with Tibetan than are most other Himalayan dialects. [LSI p. 189]

*Pronunciation.* The phonetical system is mainly the same as in Gurung. The soft consonants of Tibetan have developed into soft aspirates, and further into hard sounds. Thus, *kwan*, Tibetan *gon*, 'cloth'; *cha*, Tibetan *zà*, 'eat'. The final consonants of classical Tibetan have been retained to a greater extent than is the case in Gurung. Thus, *rop*, Tibetan *rgyab*, 'beat'; *sat*, Tibetan *gsod*, 'kill'. There are several compound consonants, such as *kl*, *gl*, *pl*, *bl*, *gr*, *pr*, *jy*, etc. [LSI p. 190]

*Article.* There are no articles, but the numeral *ki*, *gi*, 'one', is often used as a kind of indefinite article; thus, *ā-bā-ki*, 'a father' [LSI p. 190]

*Nouns.* The prefix *ā-* is common in words denoting relationship. Thus *ā-bā*, 'father'.

*Gender.* The natural gender can be distinguished by using different words or by adding words, such as *hvā-bā*, 'male'; *me* and *māmā*, 'female'.

*Numbers.* The number is not indicated if it appears from the context.

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*Case.* The subject of intransitive verbs and the object are not distinguished by adding any suffix. The subject of transitive verbs is usually put in the case of the agent, which is formed by adding *-se* ; thus, *chāng-bā-se pān-ji*, 'the younger-by said, the younger said'. The suffix of the dative is *-dā* or *-tā* ; thus, *ā-bā ki-dā*, 'to a father'. The suffix of the genitive is *-lā*. Thus, *ausa-bhāg-lā*, 'of the share'. The locative is formed by adding *-ri* as in Gurung. Other relations are indicated by adding post-positions. [LSI pp. 190-191]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives sometimes precede and sometimes follow the noun they qualify. They commonly end in *-pā* or *bā* ; thus, *jhyā-bā*, 'good'. The particle of comparison is *oisi*. [LSI p. 191]

*Numerals.* The higher numbers are counted in twenties. [LSI p. 191]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun (s) for 'I' is *ngā* ; for 'thou' are *ye*, *ai*, and for 'he' is *the*. The reflexive pronoun is *rāng-la* or *rhāng-lā*, 'own'. [LSI pp. 191-192]

*Verbs.* The verb is still virtually a noun. The usual base of the verb substantive is *mu*. present *mu-lā*, past *mu-bā*. The verb substantive is freely used in the formation of the tenses of finite verbs. The base alone is sometimes used as a present tense. Thus, *ye-ni-mu*, 'we go'. The most common suffix of the present is apparently *-lā* ; thus, *mu-lā*, 'am'. The usual suffix of past time is *-ji* as in Gurung ; thus *pān-ji*, 'he said'. The present suffix is also used with the meaning of a future ; thus, *pāng-lā*, 'I shall say'. The usual suffixes of the imperative are *-u* or *-o* and *-go* ; thus *chā-u*, 'eat' ; *re-go*, 'stand'.

*Verbal noun and participles.* The usual verbal noun ends in *-bā* ; thus, *chhā-bā*, 'to graze'. The base alone is also used as a verbal noun ; thus, *chā ā-khām-na*, 'to eat unable'.

The forms ending in *-bā* and *-nā* are used as a relative participle. The suffix *-nā* is also used to form a kind of adverbial participle. Thus, *kathā the-nā lām-bā*, 'tale delivering sat, he sat delivering a tale'. Other adverbial participles are formed from the various verbal nouns by adding postpositions.

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There is no passive voice. *ngā-tā rop-ji*, 'I am struck', literally means 'me struck'. [LSI pp. 192-193]

*Order of Words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. [LSI p. 194]

## SUNWĀR OR SUNUWĀR

**114** Sunwār speakers are a cultivating tribe of Nepal. They are found in Sikkim and Darjeeling.

The materials available for describing the sunwār dialect are rather unsatisfactory. [LSI pp. 198-199]

*Pronunciation.* The number of compound consonants is small. A small vowel is sometimes inserted between the consonants to make the enunciation easier ; thus, *sunwār* and *sunuwār*. In phonetical system it agrees with Himalayan dialects like Kanāwarī, rather than Tibetan. Cf. *pīt*, Kanāwarī, *phī*, 'bring' ; *gui*, Kanāwarī *gud*, 'hand'. [LSI p. 199]

*Article.* The numeral *kā*, 'one', is used as an indefinite article ; thus, *kā popo*, 'a father'. [LSI p. 199]

*Nouns.* A prefix *ā-* is common in nouns denoting relationship ; thus, *ā-mā*, 'mother'.

*Gender.* The natural gender is distinguished by using different words, or else by adding qualifying words. Thus, *popo*, 'father' ; *ā-mā*, 'mother' : *sharā*, 'horse' ; *sharā ām̃o*, 'mare'.

*Number.* The plural is not indicated when it appears from the context.

*Case.* The base alone, with or without any suffix or postposition, is freely used to denote the various cases. The subject and the object are not distinguished by means of any suffix. The suffix of the dative is *-kale* ; of the ablative is *-ngā* ; of the genitive is *-ke* or *-kā*. Thus, *pokhri-ngā*, 'from the well' ; *poph-kā wāilī-pokī*, 'the father's servants'. Other relations are indicated by adding postpositions. [LSI p. 200]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives usually precede, but occasionally also follow the noun they qualify. [LSI pp. 199-200]

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*Numerals.* The higher numbers are counted in twenties; thus, *khāk nīshi sasi -kā*, 'twenty two ten-one, fifty'. [LSI p. 200]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns for 'I' is *go*; for 'thou' are *ge, ga*, and for 'he' are *hare, mare, me*. [LSI p. 201]

*Verb.* The Sunwār verb is still in all essential points a noun. The person of the subject is not distinguished in the verb, and verbal tenses are freely used as nouns. Several bases are used as verbs substantive. Many of the bases of the verbs substantive are also used in the conjugation of finite verbs. The most common form of the present tense contains a suffix beginning with *-n*. Thus, *go tup-nu*, 'I strike.' This form is also used as a future. Thus, *go lāyi-nang*, 'I shall go'. Another suffix of present is *-pā* or *-bā*. Thus, *dum-bā*, 'I become'. The suffixes *-ta* or *-tā, -ti, -te* or *-to* are usually added in order to form a past tense. Thus, *pā tā*, 'I did'; *gep-to*, 'gavest, gave' and so forth. The usual suffix of the imperative is *-u* or *-o*. Thus, *la-u*, 'go'; *gi-o* 'give'.

*Verbal Nouns.* The usual verbal noun is formed by adding the suffix *-chā* or *-chhā*; thus, *jā-chhā*, 'to eat'.

*Participles.* The bases of various tenses are also used as participles; thus *jā-teh*, 'arriving'. [LSI pp. 201-203]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. [LSI p. 203]

## MĀGARĪ

115 Māgarī speakers, one of the fighting tribes of Nepal, are found over most parts of Nepal, and further in Sikkim, Darjeeling, Jalpaiguri and Naga hills.

Māgarī has been much influenced by Aryan dialects, especially in vocabulary. Some of the most usual case suffixes are likewise Aryan. On the whole, however, the general character of the dialect has remained unchanged. [LSI pp. 206-207]

*Pronunciation.* Among the vowels, sounds *ö* and *ü* are notable. Thus, *ngö*, 'by me'; *jyā-chü*, 'eating'. Among the consonants, the sounds *ts*, *tsh*, and *dz* are used in borrowed words;

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thus, *tsakar*, 'a servant' ; *tshān-ke*, 'to become' ; *kam-dzaro*, 'ague'. *M*, *n*, *r* and *l* are frequently aspirated. [LSI pp. 207-208]

*Article : Gender.* There are no articles, but the numeral *kat*, 'one' is used as an indefinite article. Thus, *kat tsākar*, 'a servant'. [LSI p. 208]

*Nouns : Gender.* The natural gender is distinguished by using different words or by adding qualifying affixes ; thus, *bhar-mi*, 'man' ; *māhazā*, 'woman'.

*Case.* The subject of intransitive verbs and the object are not distinguished by any suffix. The suffix of the dative *-ke* or *ki* is, however, often used to denote the object. The suffix of the agentive is *-e* or *-i* ; of the genitive is *-o* or *-u* ; and of the locative is *-ang*. [LSI p. 208]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives precede the noun they qualify in the nominative. The particle of comparison is *denang*. [LSI p. 208]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *ngā* ; for 'thou', is *nāng* ; for 'he' is *hosai*, *hos*. There are no relative pronouns. [LSI p. 209]

*Verbs.* The verb is in all essential points a noun. There is no difference for person. The usual verb substantive is *le* or *le -sā*, past *leyā* or *lā*. A compound form is *ā -le* 'is', which is also used as a future. The verb substantive is extensively used in the formation of the various tenses of finite verbs. The usual form of the present tense is a compound, the verb substantive being added to the base ; thus, *ũ -le*, 'he lives'. The usual suffix of past time is *-ā* ; thus, *zāt -ā*, 'did'. The present is commonly used as a future ; thus, *dathuk -le*, 'I shall'. A future is also formed by prefixing *ā* and suffixing *-e* ; *ā- de- y- e*, 'I shall say'. The suffix of the imperative is *-o* ; thus, *rākh -o*, 'bring'.

*Verbal nouns and participles.* The usual verbal noun is formed by adding the suffix *-ki* or *ke* ; thus, *yā -ke*, 'to give'. Relative participles are formed by adding the suffix *-chü*. This, form is sometimes also used as a verbal noun ; thus, *harkha zāt -cha*, 'to make merry'. The conjunctive participle is formed by adding *-mü* or *-nü*, and adverbial participle by the suffix *-nā* or *-nāng*.

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*Passive voice.* There is no passive voice. [LSI pp. 209-210]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. [LSI p. 211]

## NĒWĀRĪ

116 The Nēwārs were the ruling race in Nepal before the invasion of Gorkhas, and they still constitute the largest section of the inhabitants of the valley. The number of Nēwārs outside the valley is small. Most of them have been returned from Darjeeling and Sikkim.

Nēwārī was used for literary purposes at a comparatively early period. [LSI pp. 214-15]

*Pronunciation.* Nēwārī possesses both hard and soft gutturals, palatals, dentals and labials. Both the hard and the soft sounds may be either aspirated or unaspirated. The dialect is said to possess the so-called abrupt tone. Hodgson writes *chhi'*, 'one'; *ni'*, 'two', and so forth, in which words the sign,' probably denotes the abrupt tone. [LSI pp. 215-216]

*Article.* The numeral *chhi, chha-mha,* etc., 'one', is used as an indefinite article. [LSI p. 216]

*Nouns : Gender.* There is no grammatical gender. The natural gender is distinguished by using different words or by adding qualifying affixes.

*Number.* The plural is distinguished, if necessary, by adding suffixes, such as *-pĩ, -pini, -ta.*

*Case.* The subject of intransitive verbs and the object are not distinguished by means of any suffix. The object is, however, sometimes put in the dative. The subject of transitive verbs is put in the case of the agent ; the suffixes of that being *-na* or *-nã.* The same suffix is used to denote the instrument and the ablative. The suffixes of genitive, dative, locative-terminative are, *-yā, -ta* and *-sā* or *-sã,* respectively. [LSI pp. 216-217]



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*Adjectives.* The particle of comparison is *si-sã*, 'from', added to the genitive of the compared noun. [LSI p. 217]

*Numerals.* Generic particles are added to the numerals in order to indicate the nature of the qualified noun. Such particles are *mha* for human beings ; *gu* for things ; *ma* for trees and plants, etc. Thus, *chha-mā sima*, 'a timber-tree'. [LSI p. 217]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *ji* ; for 'thou' is *chha*, *chhi* ; for 'he' is *o*. [LSI p. 217]

*Verbs.* The Nēwārī verb is in all essential features a noun. The various tenses do not differ for person and number, and the subject of transitive verb is put in the agentive case. Several bases are used to form a verb substantive. The base alone is used as a present tense ; thus *ji-pĩ du*, 'we are'. The common suffix of the present is *-e* or *-i*. It is also used to denote the future. Thus *jĩ-dā-e*, 'I strike' ; *dhā-e*, 'I will say'. The base alone is apparently also used to denote past time ; thus *ji du*, 'I was'. The suffixes *-la* and *-na* are common with the meaning of past time ; thus, *o-na* and *o-la*, 'he went'. The base alone is used as an imperative ; thus, *na*, 'eat', *ti*, 'put'.

*Verbal nouns and participles.* The most usual verbal noun ends in *-e*, the form commonly used to denote present and future tenses. Thus, *na-e*, 'to eat'.

Various kinds of participles are formed by adding postpositions or qualifying suffixes to verbal nouns.

*Passive voice.* There is no passive voice. [LSI pp. 217-219]

*Order of words.* The regular order of words is subject, object, verb. [LSI p. 220]

## PAHRĪ DIALECT

**117** Pahrī is spoken in the hills of Central Nepal. Some speakers of the dialect were also returned from Assam.

Pahrī is very closely related to Nēwārī, so closely that it can properly be described as its sub-dialect. [LSI p. 227]

*Pronunciation.* Pahrī possesses *k*, *kh*, *g*, *gh* and corresponding sets of palatals, dentals and labials.

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*Article.* The numeral *thi*, 'one', is used as an indefinite article. [LSI p. 227]

*Nouns : Gender.* The natural gender is distinguished by using different words or by adding affixes. Thus, *mānchhe*, 'man' ; *doh-sā*, 'bull.

*Number.* The plural is indicated by suffixes, *-si*, *kārī*, *tŏ*, *kārā*, *te*. Thus, *bā-si*, 'fathers'.

*Case.* The subject of intransitive verbs and the object are not distinguished by adding any suffix. The subject of transitive verbs is put in the case of the agent, which is formed by adding one of the suffixes *-na* and *hāya*. The suffix of the ablative is *-nā*, of genitive is *-yā*, of locative is *-ga* or *-ka*. The dative is formed by adding the suffix *-tā* to the base or to the genitive. [LSI p. 228]

*Adjectives.* The postposition *-sika* is used as a particle of comparison. [LSI p. 228]

*Numerals.* Generic particles are added in order to indicate the nature of the qualified noun. The suffix *-sā* seems to be used in a more general way ; thus *nhi- sā pro*, 'two sons' ; *thi-sā bhoye*, 'a feast'. [LSI p. 228]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun(s) for 'I' is *ji* ; for 'thou' are *chhi*, *chha* ; and for 'he' are *hŏ*, *chho*, *chha*. [LSI p. 228]

*Verbs.* The verb is of the same description as in Nēwārī. It does not differ for person and the subject of transitive verb is put in the agentive case. The usual bases of the verb substantive are the same as in Nēwārī, viz., *khi da* and *ju*. The base alone is used as a present tense ; thus, *hon-na dā*, 'he strikes'. A suffix *-e* or *-i* is often added in all the forms of the first two persons ; thus, *chha dā -e*, 'thou strikest'. The base alone is also used as a past tense ; thus *la*, 'he is found'. A common suffix of the past is *-re* or *-ri -rĩ* ; thus, *na dā-rĩ*, 'I struck'. The base alone is also used as a future ; thus *jā-na da* 'we shall strike'. The base alone is used as an imperative ; thus, *yā*, 'come' ; *ne* 'eat'.

*Verbal nouns and participles.* The base alone, or with one of the suffixes *-e* or *-ī* and *-o*, is used as a verbal noun. Thus, *hiā-ta*, making-for, to make',

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Relative participles are formed by adding genitive suffixes to the base ; thus, *darmā bī-yā chākara*, 'wage giving of a servant, a hired servant'. The suffix-*tini* is used to form a kind of adverbial participle. Thus, *khitini*, 'being'. The usual suffix of conjunctive participle is -*nā* ; thus *dai-nā* '*rising*'.

*Passive voice.* There is no passive voice. [LSI pp. 229-230]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. [LSI p. 230]

## LEPCHA OR RÓNG

**118** The Lepchas are considered as the oldest inhabitants of Sikkim. They are also found in Western Bhutan, Eastern Nepal and in Darjeeling.

Lepcha dialect has a written character, which was introduced by Sikkim Raja Chakdor Namgye. [LSI pp. 233-235]

*Pronunciation.* The short *a* has the sound of *u* in 'rut', *a* is said to have a prolonged and guttural sound. It is often interchangeable with *ó* and *u* ; *tyát* and *tyót*, 'to hack'. *i* has the sound of *i* in 'pin' and *í* is the correspondingly long or rather prolonged sound. *O* is the broad *o* in 'nor', 'for'. [LSI pp. 235-236]

*Prefixes.* A very common prefix is *ā-* ; thus, *ā-bo* 'father'. It is commonly prefixed to verbal roots in order to form nouns and adjectives ; thus, *chor*, 'to be sour' ; *ā-chor*, 'sour'. There are several other suffixes in use. Some of them have still a definite meaning of their own. [LSI p. 236]

*Articles.* The numeral *kāt*, 'one' is used as an indefinite article, and the suffix -*re* has the meaning of a definite article. Thus *maró-kāt*, 'a man' ; *pa-no-re*, 'the King'. [LSI p. 236]

*Nouns : Gender.* The natural gender is expressed by using different words or by means of qualifying additions meaning 'male', 'female', respectively.

*Number.* There are three numbers, the singular, the dual and the plural. The suffix of the dual is -*nyum*, and the plural is expressed by adding-*sang* in the case of animate beings and-*pang* in the case of inanimate objects.

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*Case.* The base alone, without any suffix, is used as the subject of intransitive verbs, and as the object. The object can, however, be distinguished by adding *-rem* or *-mum*. The subject of transitive verbs is put in the agentive case, which is formed by adding *-nun*. The suffix *-nun* also forms an ablative; thus *ā-bā-nun*, 'here-from, from here'. The genitive can be expressed by putting the governed before the governing word; thus, *ā-do-sa ā-bo li-ka*, 'you -of father house -in, in your father's house'.

[LSI pp. 236-237]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives are commonly formed from verbal bases by prefixing *ā-*, and if the verb ends in a vowel, by suffixing *-m*; thus, *dū*, 'to be white'; *ā-dūm*, 'white.' Adjectives usually follow the noun they qualify: thus, *on ā-dūm*, 'the white horse.' The particle of comparison is *len*. [LSI p. 237]

*Numerals.* Higher numbers are counted in twenties; thus *khā nyet*, 'forty.' [LSI p 237]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *go*; 'thou' is *hó*; and for 'he, she, it,' is *hu*. The personal pronouns can be emphasized by adding the particle *do*; thus, *ka-do*, 'I myself.' Indefinite pronouns are formed by adding *-la* to the interrogatives; thus *to-na-la*, 'anybody.' [LSI p. 238]

*Verbs.* Verbs do not change for person and number. Several bases are used with the meaning of a verb substantive. The most usual ones are *gum*, *gó*, *go*, *ka*, and *nyí*. The base alone is sometimes used as a present; thus *go lyūp*, 'I beat.' Particles ending in *-det* and *-ung* are commonly also used with the meaning of a present. The base *bām*, 'to remain, to be', is commonly added; thus, *go lik bām*; 'I call.' The base alone is commonly used as a past tense; thus, *go li*, 'I said.' Particles ending in *-ung*, *-pā*, and *bo* are often used in the same way. The usual future is formed by adding *sho*; thus *shu-sho*, 'I shall say.' The imperative is formed by adding *-o*; thus, *dí-o*, 'come.' In verbs ending in a consonant, *-a* is added and the preceding consonant is doubled: thus *māt-ta* or *māt-ta-o*, 'do.'

*Verbal nouns and particles.* The base alone is used as a verbal noun; thus, *thí*, 'to arrive'; *thí-re*, 'the arrival', etc. By adding various postpositions adverbial clauses can be formed.

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The most usual participle is formed by adding *wung* or *ung*, thus, *li-wung*, 'saying.' Conjunctive participles are formed by adding, *-bān* and relative participles by adding *-bo* or *-bū*.

*Passive Voice.* There is no proper passive voice. The bases *thóm*, 'to place' and *nóng*, 'to go' are sometimes added in order to form a kind of passive, thus, *pi-thóm-bo*, 'written.'

[LSI pp. 238-240]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. [LSI p. 241]

## ṬŌṬŌ

**119** The Ṭōṭōs live in Sub-Himalayas, in the Baxa Subdivision of Jalpaiguri. They are a very wild tribe.

The materials available are far from being sufficient for giving even the most superficial sketch of Ṭōṭō grammar. [LSI p. 250]

*Nouns, adjectives and numerals.* The genitive is formed by adding the suffix *-k* ; thus *dodong-be-k*, 'of a man.'

Adjectives can end in one of the suffixes *-nā* and *-mā* ; thus, *entā-nā*, 'good'

The numerals most closely correspond to those in use in Lhoke. Higher numbers are, however, counted in twenties ; thus, *ngā-kāi*, 'five scores, hundred.' [LSI p. 250]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *kā-te* ; for 'thou' is *nāgā* ; for 'he' is *dēā*, *kō*. [LSI p. 250]

*Verbs.* The base *ni* is used to form a verb substantive. The present tense can be formed by adding the suffix *-ro* ; thus *iung-ro*, 'thou livest.' Several suffixes, such as *-pur*, *-chhā*, *-nā*, *-miā*, are used to form a past tense. The suffix *-pur* is also used to form a future ; thus, *lo-pur*, 'I will arise.'

The verbal noun is formed by adding the suffix *-e* ; thus *ku-e*, 'in order to tend.'

A conjunctive participle is formed by adding *pu-nā* ; thus *lui-pu-nā*, having wasted,' [LSI pp. 250-251]

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## 120 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE NON-PRONOMINALIZED HIMALAYAN DIALECTS

| *English* | *Gurung* | *Nēwārī (Nepal)* | *Róng (Darjeeling)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| one | ghri | chhi | kāt |
| two | nhī | nasi | nyet |
| three | sŏ, sou | sŏ | sām |
| four | vli, bhlī | pi | fa-lí |
| hand | yo | lāhā | ā-ká |
| foot | bhalí-pu | tuti | thūng-lyók |
| head | kra | chhẽ | ā-thyāk |
| a father | ā-bā ghri | chha-mha bau | ā bo kāt |
| of a father | ā-ba ghri-a | chha-mha bauyā | ā-bo kāt-sa |
| to a father | ā-ba ghri-lādi | chha-mha bau-yā-ta | ā-bo kāt-sa |
| two fathers | ā-ba nhi | ni-mha bau pī | ā-bo nyet |
| I am | nga mu | ji du | go gum |
| thou art | kin mu | chha du | hó-a |
| he is | chan mu | o du | hu gun |
| we are | ngi-jag mu | ji-pī du | kayū gum |
| you are | nha-me-jagan mu-lā | chhi du | hó-a |
| they are | cha jagan mu | a-pī du | hu yū-a |
| I was | nga mu-lā | ji du | go nyi |
| thou wast | kin mu | chha du | hó-nyi |
| he was | cha mu-lā | o du | hu nyi |
| we were | cha-man (*sic*) mu-lā | ji-pī du | Kayū nyi |
| you were | nha-me-jagan mu-lā | chhik-pī du | hó nyi |
| they were | cha-me jagan mu-lā | a-pī du | huyū nyi |
| I shall be | nga tab-mu | ju ju-e tini, ju ju-e | go ngūn-shong |

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| *English* | *Gurung* | *Nēwārī (Nepal)* | *Róng (Darjeeling)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| I beat | ngai to-am | jĩ dē-e | go lyūp |
| thou beatest | ki to-si na-bu | chhã dā | hó lyūppung |
| he beats | chai to-si na-bu | õ dā-yā chona | hu lyūp-bām |
| we beat | ngi jaga to | ji-mi-sã dā-e | ka-yū lyūp |
| you beat | nha-me jaga-di tõ | chhi-mi-sã dā | hó lyūp |
| they beat | cha-mae jaga-di tõ | a-mi-sã dā-yā chona | hu yū-lyūp |
| I beat (past) | ngā-ji hoā-ji | jĩ dā-yā | go buk |
| thou beatest (past) | ki-ji hoā-ji | chhã dā-la | hó bukkung |
| he beat (past) | chā-ji hoā-ji | õ dā-la | hu buk |
| we beat (past) | ngi-ji hoā-ji | ji-mi-sẽ dā-yā | ka-yū buk |
| you beat (past) | nha-mae-ji hoā-ji | chhi-mi-sẽ dā-la | hó buk |
| they beat (past) | cha-mae-ji hoā-ji | a-mi-sẽ dā-la | ha-yū buk |
| I shall beat | ngai to-mu | jĩ dā-e-tini | go buk-shóng |

[LSI pp. 254-71]

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## COMPLEX PRONOMINALIZED LANGUAGES

### EASTERN SUB-GROUP

121 To the east of the valley of Nepal there are a series of dialects of much more complex nature than the Himalayan non-pronominalized languages described in the preceding pages. All the characteristics of the Himalayan languages are found in them, though not always in one and the same dialect. The tendency to distinguish the person of the subject by means of pronominal affixes is found in all of them. Thus a suffix *-ngā* is commonly added in the first person singular. Cf. Thāmi *hok-ngā-du*, 'being I-am, I am.' This distinction of the person of the subject by means of pronominal suffixes is in agreement with the practice of Muṇḍā languages. There are double sets of the dual and plural of the first person in Muṇḍā languages. Several Himalayan dialects agree, with these languages, in this respect. Cf. Vāyu, *ang-chi*, 'my and his'; *ung-chi*, 'my and thy'; *ang-ki*, 'my and their'; *ung-ki*, 'my and your'.

The dialects belonging to this group which will be dealt within the following pages are Dhīmāl, Thāmi, Limbu, Yākhā, Khambu, Bāhing, Rāi and Vāyu.

Dhīmāl and Thāmi are comparatively simple languages. The higher numbers in Dhīmāl are counted in twenties; cf. *nā bīsa*, 'five twenties, hundred.' The person of the subject is distinguished by adding pronominal suffixes to the verb; thus, *ka-lē-ang-ka*, 'I come-shall-I, I shall come'; *nā lē-āng-nā*, 'thou come-wilt-thou, thou wilt come.'

Thāmi is a dialect of the same description as Dhīmāl. The conjugation of verbs, shows the same use of pronominal suffixes as in the case of Dhīmāl; thus, *gai-ya-ngā-du*, 'I go-I-am, I go'.

Limbu is a dialect of a much more complex character. There are double forms of the dual and the plural of the first personal pronoun. Of greater interest is, however, the use of short forms



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of the personal pronoun as prefixes ; thus, *angā-ā-sā*, 'I my-son, my son.' These prefixes also occur before verbs, in order to distinguish the person of the subject and the object. Thus, *ā-k'-hip*, 'me thou strikest.' Limbu accordingly forms another link in the chain connecting Tibetan and the Himalayan dialects with Tibeto-Burman languages of Assam and Burma.

Yākhā is in many respects closely related to Limbu. The dialect possesses a set of pronominal prefixes. Yākhā verb does not regularly differ for person. The suffix *-ngā* is, however, sometimes inserted between the base and an auxiliary, when the subject is of the first person singular ; thus, *khem-me-ngā-nā*, 'going-I-am, I go.'

Many of the Khāmbu dialects, spoken by a tribe of the same name, possess dual forms of the personal pronouns and double sets of the dual and plural of the first person, one including and the other excluding the person addressed. These personal pronouns have short forms which are used as pronominal prefixes, as in Limba and Yākhā. Some of the dialects present a very complicated system of verbal forms,

The position of this group can be defined as intermediate between Tibetan and the pronominalized, Himalayan dialects on one side and the pronominalized languages of North Almora, Kanawar and neighbourhood as well as Bāṛā. the Kuki-chin languages, etc. on the other. [LSI pp. 273-276]

## DHĪMĀL

122 The Dhīmāl dialect is spoken by a small tribe in the Darjeeling Terai. [LSI p. 277]

*Nouns : Gender.* Gender is indicated by using different words or by prefixing *dānkhā*, *dhāngāi*, 'male' ; *mahani*, *bhundi*. 'female', etc.

*Number.* The plural is not marked when it appears from the context.

*Case.* The subject of intransitive verbs and the object are not distinguished by any suffix. The subject of transitive verbs is usually put in the agentive case, which is formed by adding

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the suffix *-dong*. The dative, sometimes used as an accusative also, is formed by adding *-ēng*. The suffix of ablative, often used to denote the agent, is *-sho* ; that of genitive *-ko*, and that of locative *-tā*. [LSI p. 277]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives usually precede, but sometimes also follow the noun they qualify ; thus, *ēlkā chan-galai*, 'good children.' The particle of comparison is *nhā-dong*, which is usually preceded by the compared noun in the genitive. Thus, *ō-kā nhā-dong dhangā*, 'him than tall, taller' ; *sogiming-ko nhā-dong dhangā*, 'all than tall, tallest'. [LSI pp. 277-278]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *kā* ; for 'thou' is *nā* ; for 'he' is *wā*. [LSI p. 278]

*Verbs.* All verbs are inflected in exactly the same way. If the subject is of the first or second person, the personal pronouns are additionally suffixed to the tense bases. Thus, *kā hadē-khi-kā*, 'I go'.

The usual verb substantive is *jeng-li*, 'to be'.

The usual present tense is formed by suffixing *-khi*, *-mhi* or *-nhi* ; thus, *kā dōp-mhi-kā*, 'I speak'. The suffix of past is *-hi* ; thus, *nā hadē-hi-nā*, 'thou wentest'. The suffix of the future is *-ānng*.

The simple base without any suffix is used as an imperative thus, *chā*, 'eat'.

*Verbal nouns.* The usual verbal noun is formed by adding *-li* ; thus, *hadē-li*, 'to go, in order to go'.

*Passive voice.* There is no passive voice. [LSI pp. 278-279]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. [LSI p. 279]

## THĀMI

123 The Thāmis, outside Nepal, are found in very small number in Darjeeling and Sikkim.

The material available to give a detailed grammatical sketch is not sufficient. [LSI p. 280]

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*Nouns : Gender.* The gender can be indicated by adding qualifying words, such as, (male) *pāpā, boke, dārhe* (female) *māmā, mā* or *mi*. Thus, *pāpā syā*, 'bull' ; *māmā syā*, 'cow'.

*Number.* The plural can be distinguished by adding suffixes such as *-haru and -pāli ;* thus *ā-pā haru*, 'fathers' ; *chāmai pāli*, 'daughters'.

*Case.* The subject of intransitive verbs and the object are not distinguished by means of any suffix. The object can, however, be put in the dative, which is formed by adding one of the suffixes *-kai* or *-lāi* ; thus, *to-ko chā-kai rehunu*, 'his son beat, I have beaten his son'. The subject of transitive verbs is put in the agentive case, which is also used as an instrumental. It is formed by adding *-i* or *-e* ; thus, *dhā-i syā-mishā jahu-du*, 'him-by cows-buffaloes grazes, he is grazing cattle'. [LSI pp. 280-281]

*Adjectives.* The adjectives precede the noun they qualify. The particle of comparison is the Aryan *bhandā* as in Gurung, Yākhā, etc. [LSI p. 281]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *gai* ; for 'thou' is *nā* ; for 'he' is *dhā*. [LSI p. 281]

*Verbs.* The verb substantive is apparently *du*. The forms *thā*, 'is' ; *thiyo*, 'was', are probably Aryan.

The verb substantive plays a considerable role in the inflexion of the finite verbs. There is apparently a strong tendency to distinguish the person of the subject by inserting pronominal suffixes between the base and the verb substantive, as is also the case in other Nepalese languages. Thus, *hok-ngā-du*, 'I am' ; *ni hok-i-du*, 'we are'.

The base alone is sometimes used as a present tense ; thus, *nai ṛehi*, 'you strike'. Usually, however, the copula *-du* is added ; thus, *hod-du*, 'he is, they are'.

The various forms used in the function of finite tenses are properly verbal nouns, which can occasionally also be used in the past ; thus, *ge ṛehu -nu*, 'I have beaten'. A real past can be formed by adding *thiyo*. 'was' ; thus, *gai hok -ngā -thiyo*, 'my sitting-my-was, I was'.

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The present is also used as a future ; thus *ge ɾeu-nu* 'I shall beat'. [LSI pp. 281-282]

## LIMBU

124 The Limbus are one of the principal tribes of Eastern Nepal. Their flat features, etc. afford grounds for believing them to be the descendants of early Tibetan settlers in Nepal. Limbu speakers are also found in Darjeeling and Sikkim.

*Pronunciation.* Hard and soft consonants are often interchangeable ; thus. *chīā* and *jīā*, 'which', *l* often interchanges with *r*, commonly in such a way that *l* is used after consonants, and *r* after vowels ; thus, *kū-m-pā-rē*, 'by his father' ; *kū-sā-lē*, 'by his son'. *Kh* sometimes interchanges with *h* ; thus *khūnē* and *hūnē*, 'he'. [LSI pp. 284-285]

*Articles.* There are no articles. The numeral *thik*, 'one', is sometimes used as an indefinite article, thus, *sēōtē thik*, 'a servant'. [LSI p. 285]

*Nouns : Gender.* The natural gender is distinguished by using different words or by means of qualifying additions. Thus, *pā*, father ; *mā*, 'mother'. The suffixes *kū-m-bā*, 'male', *kū-m-mā*, 'female', are only used to distinguish the gender of animals, and not in the case of human beings.

*Number.* There are three numbers; the singular, the dual, and the plural. The dual is usually distinguished by means of the same suffixes as the plural. Thus, *nēdeng-nē-mō*, 'on the two cheeks'.

*Case.* The subject and object are usually indicated by means of pronominal suffixes added to the verb, and no suffix is therefore required after the nouns. Thus *sa nechi wāyechi*, 'two sons were'. Often, however, suffixes are added to the noun. A suffix *-in*, or, after vowels, *-n*, is often added to a noun as an object, and also as an indirect object ; thus, *ā-sā-n sīā-bā-n*, 'my son was dying'.

The genitive is expressed by adding pronominal prefixes to the governing noun ; thus, *k'-m-bā kū-him-mō*, 'thy-father his-son house-in, in thy father's house'. [LSI pp. 285-286]

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*Adjectives.* Adjectives are very commonly followed by the suffix *-pā*, feminine *-mā* ; thus, *nō-bā*, feminine *nō-mā*, good. They can be inflected for number ; thus, *nechhī nō-bā-sī* (or *nō-bā*) *manē-hā*, 'two good men'.

*Numerals.* Addition is effected by placing the smaller after the higher numeral. Multiplication, on the other hand, is indicated by prefixing the multiplier. Thus, *thībong thik*, 'ten one, eleven' ; *sūm-bong*, 'three ten, thirty'. On the whole, the old Limbu numerals are gradually being replaced by Aryan forms.

[LSI pp. 286-287]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *angā* ; for 'thou' is *khenē* ; for 'he' is *khūnē*. Other forms of the first person are ; *ān-chī*, 'I and thou', *ān-chī-gē*, 'I and he', *ānī*, 'I and you', *ānī-gē*, 'I and he', *ānī*, 'I and you', *ānī-gē*, 'I and they.' Indefinite pronouns are formed by adding *-ang* to interrogatives ; thus *thē-ang*, ' any thing.' [LSI pp. 287-288]

*Verbs.* The Limbu verb presents a complicated picture, the subject and the object being often indicated by means of pronominal prefixes and suffixes added to the verb. In other cases the verb is essentially a noun.

*Voice.* There can be said to be three voices, an active, a passive and a middle. The difference between the active and the passive, is simply effected by adding suffixes denoting the object to the active. The middle is formed by adding *-sing* or *-ching* to the passive or intransitive form in the singular and the third person plural. It is also used as a reflexive form, and further in forms such as *ku-ching*, 'he carried on his back'.

*Subject and object.* The subject and the object are often indicated by means of pronominal prefixes and suffixes added to the verbs. If more than one prefix is used at the same time, the first person precedes the second, and the second the third. Thus, *ā-k'-hip*, 'my-thy-striking, 'you strike me' ; *k'-mē-hip*, 'thy their-striking, they strike thee'.

The intransitives always take the passive form, and the same is also the case with many active forms of transitive verbs.

Several bases are used as a verb substantive.

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The inflection of the finite verb is comparatively simple, allowing for the difficulties resulting from the use of the pronominal prefixes and suffixes. There are only two real tenses, a present which is also used as a future, and a past.

The base alone is used as a present tense ; thus, *pēk-ā*, 'I go' ; *pēg*, 'he goes'. In the case of transitive verbs the same form is often used in the present and past tense.

The base alone is sometimes used as a past tense : thus, *k'-pē*, 'wentest' ; *pē*, 'went'. Commonly, however, an *-ē* is added ; thus *pēg-ē*, 'went'. This *-ē* is always dropped before pronominal suffixes beginning with vowels : thus *pēg-ang*, 'I went'.

*Verbal noun.* The suffix *-mā* is commonly used in order to form an infinitive or verbal noun ; thus, *hā-mā*, 'to divide'. The infinitive of purpose is formed by adding *-sē*, *-chē*, or sometimes *-khē* ; thus, *kōm-sē*, 'in order to graze'.

*Compound verbs.* Causals are sometimes formed by aspirating the initial consonant ; thus, *pē-mā*, 'to fly' ; *phē-mā*, 'to cause to fly'. The usual way of forming causal verbs is, however, to add *pāng-mā* or *yā-mā* to the principal verb ; thus, *sem-pāng-khū-si*, 'he caused them to kill'.

An inceptive is formed by adding the various forms of *chōg-mā*, 'to do', to the verbal noun ending in *mā* ; thus, *pēg-mā chōg-ā-sing*, 'I begin to go'. [LSI pp. 288-296]

## YĀKHĀ

125 The Yākhās, the speakers of the dialect, are a small tribe, who are found in the same localities as the Limbus. There are small settlements of the tribe in Darjeeling and Sikkim. [LSI p. 305]

*Article.* There are no articles. The numeral *ikko* 'one', is, however, often used with the meaning of an indefinite article ; thus, *ikko yāp-mi*, 'a man'. [LSI p. 306]

*Nouns : Gender.* The natural gender is distinguished by using different words or by adding qualifying affixes. Thus, *bā*, 'father', *mā*, 'mother', *pik*, 'bull' ; *pik mā*, 'cow'.

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*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural.

*Case.* There are no separate suffixes to indicate the subject of intransitive verbs or the object. The subject of transitive verbs is put in the case of the agent, which is formed by adding the suffix *-ngā*. Thus, *pāk-nā-ngā lu-nā*, 'younger-by said, the younger said'. [LSI p. 306]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives precede the word they qualify. They commonly end in *-hā* or *-nā* ; thus, *nu-nā yāp-mi*, 'a good man'. The particle of comparison is apparently the Aryan *bhandā* ; thus, *nā-bhandā-cha ket-nā*, 'any one-from high, highest'. [LSI p. 307]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *kā* ; for 'thou' is *ing-khi* ; for 'he' is *i-khi*, *u-khi*. Short forms of some of the personal pronouns are used as prefixes with the meaning of possessive pronouns. The following occur, *ā-*, 'my' ; *in-*, *un-*, 'thy' ; *i-*, *u-*, 'his'. Cf. *ā-pā*, 'my father' *in-ning*, 'thy name'. [LSI pp. 307-308]

*Verbs.* The verb is in all essential features a noun. The subject of transitive verbs is put in the case of the agent, which looks like a modified form of genitive. The person of the subject is not regularly distinguished in the verb. There are only some indications of a tendency to add affixes denoting the subject. Cf. *nā-ngā*, 'am' ; *nāk-kā*, 'art'.

Several bases are used as a verb substantive.

The conjugation of finite verbs is apparently comparatively simple. The base alone is sometimes used with the meaning of a present ; thus, *kāi*, 'I am'. Other forms of the present are apparently participles. A present participle ending in *-wā* is used in forms, such as, *yung-yung-wā-nā*, 'sitting is, he is sitting'.

The base alone is also used for the past in forms, such as *chugu-ngā*, 'I did'. The copula *nā* is commonly added ; thus, *lu-nā*, 'he said.' Like the present some suffixes are added to form the past.

The participle ending in *-me* is commonly used to form a future ; thus, *khem-me-ngā-nā*, 'I shall go'.

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The base alone is commonly used as an imperative ; thus, *pi*, 'give'. A suffix *-ā* is often added ; thus *yung-ā*, 'sit' ; *āb-ā*, 'come'.

*Verbal noun.* The most usual verbal noun is formed by adding the suffix *-ma* ; thus *wā-ma*, 'to live', *chuk-mā*, 'to do'.

*Passive voice.* There is no passive voice. [LSI pp. 308-310]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. [LSI p. 311]

## KHAMBU

**126** The Khambus are one of the fighting tribes of Nepal. They speak a number of different dialects including Khambu and Bāhing. Some of the dialects are closely related. The Khambus have emigrated from their home in Nepal into Sikkim, Darjeeling and Jalpaiguri. [LSI p. 316]

*Pronunciation* The dialect possesses sets of gutturals, palatals, dentals, and labials. Each set consists of hard and soft sounds, with and without aspiration. A cerebral *ṭ* occurs in words, such as *khā-ṭā-nu*, 'going'. It is interchangeable with dental *t*, and we must probably infer that there is only one *t*, pronounced as a semi-dental.

Hodgson mentions the pausing and the abrupt tones as very pronounced in some Khambu dialects. The abrupt tone is probably meant in cases where a visarga is written, such as *roḥ*, 'a slave'. [LSI pp. 317-318]

*Articles.* There are no articles. The numeral 'one' is often used as an indefinite article. [LSI p. 318]

*Nouns : Gender.* The natural gender is distinguished in the common way by using different words, or by adding suffixes. Thus, *pā*, 'father', *mā*, 'mother' ; *kheb-ā*, 'dog' : *khep-chi*, 'bitch'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural.

*Case.* The base alone, without any suffix, is used to denote the subject of intransitive verbs, and the object. It sometimes also occurs as the subject of transitive verbs ; thus, *ām-pā set-tu*,

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'thy father killed'. The subject of such verbs is, however, commonly put in the case of the agent, which is formed by adding the suffix *-ā* ; thus, *pā-ā-pikā*, 'the father by said'.

[LSI pp. 318-319]

*Adjectives.* Comparison is effected by putting the compared noun in the ablative ; thus, *am-nechhe-p-kā mimchhā-p-kā nechho dungre-pe*, 'his-elder sister-than woman-than brother tall-is, 'his brother is taller than his sister'. [LSI p. 319]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *kongā, kong* ; for 'thou' is *ānā* ; for 'he' is *nā, kho, khung ko, khallu.* The short forms *o*, 'my' ; *ām*, 'thy' ; *om, um, am*, 'his', are used as pronominal prefixes. Thus, *o-mi o-hai*, 'me of my share my share'. Instead of *om, um*, 'his', we also find, *-o, -u*, respectively. These pronominal prefixes are sometimes used as simple formatives without implying the meaning of a definite person. Cf. *o-pā*, 'father' ; *ām-long*, 'feet'. [LSI pp. 319-320]

*Verbs.* The Khambu verb is comparatively simple. It is still a noun, and there are certain instances of the use of personal suffixes in order to indicate the subject. On the other hand, there is apparently a tendency to prefix a pronoun in order to indicate the object ; thus, *khung-ko-lo kho-pā-piko*, 'him-to him-to-will say, I will say to him'.

The same form is often used to denote tenses. The usual form of the present tense takes one of the suffixes *-o* and *-e*. *-O*, or *-u*, is most common in the first person singular, but also occurs in the second and third persons ; *-e* is used in all persons. Thus, *tu-o*, 'am' ; *tu-chā-e*, 'he is sitting'.

The suffixes *-o* and *-e* are also used with the meaning of a past. Thus, *tu-o*, 'I was' ; *tu-e*, 'we were', etc. A common suffix of the third person is *-ā* ; thus, *tuwā*, 'he was, they were'.

The present is also used as a future ; thus, *khato*, 'I will go'. A suffix *-nā* is added in forms, such as, *kong-chhu-o-nā*, 'I may be, I should be'.

The base alone is sometimes used as an imperative ; thus, *cha*, 'eat'. The most common form of the imperative, however, ends in *-te* : thus, *bai-te*, 'take'.

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*Verbal noun.* A verbal noun is formed by adding *-am*; thus, *ker-am lagi*, 'beating for, to beat'. [LSI pp. 320-322]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. [LSI p. 322].

## BĀHING

**127** The Bāhings are one of the sub-tribes of the Khambus, who live in Central Himalayas between the Likhu and Arun rivers in Nepal. [LSI p. 327]

*Pronunciation.* Bāhing possesses what Hodgson calls the pausing tone. It occurs in words, such as the plural *daa*, in which the double *a* denotes an *a* pronounced with that one. [LSI p. 327]

*Nouns : Gender.* There is no grammatical gender. The natural gender is distinguished by using different words or by adding suffixes or qualifying words, such as *āpo*, 'father, male'; *āmo*, 'mother, female'.

*Number.* There are three numbers, the singular, the dual, and the plural. The suffix of the plural is *-daa*, and that of the dual *-daa-si*.

*Case.* The subject of intransitive verbs and the direct and indirect object are not distinguished by adding any suffix ; thus, *ryamni-po dī-ta*, 'the adulterer went'.

The genitive is expressed by putting the governed before the governing noun, and usually also by repeating it by means of a possessive pronoun prefixed to the governing noun ; thus. *swongāra ā-grong*, goat its horn, goat's horn'. [LSI pp. 328-329]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives are formed by adding suffixes, such as, *-ba*, *-wa*, *-na*, etc. ; thus, *neu-ba*, 'good'.

Comparison is effected by putting the compared noun in the ablative ; thus, *yam ding ngolo*, 'him from great, greater than he'.

Higher numbers are counted in twenties. [LSI p. 329]

*Pronouns.* Pronouns are in most respects inflected like

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nouns. The pronouns of the first person have double sets of the dual and the plural, one including and the other excluding the person or persons addressed. The personal pronoun for 'I' is *go* ; for 'thou' is *ga* ; for 'he' is *harem* ; first person dual is *gō-si* (incl.), *gō-sūkū* (excl.) ; first person plural is *gō-i* (incl.), *gō-kū* (excl.). *Harem*, 'he, she, it', is also used as a demonstrative pronoun meaning 'that'. There are no relative pronouns. Relative participles are used instead. [LSI pp. 329-330].

*Verbs*. There are no cases to denote the direct and indirect objects. Both are, however, marked in the verb by means of pronominal suffixes. The same is the case with the subject, and Bāhing conjugation therefore presents a rather complicated appearance ; thus, *pā-wā*, 'he does it' ; *pā-tā*, 'he does it for him'.

Each tense can be turned into a kind of noun by adding the suffix *-me* ; thus, *jā-ngā*, 'I eat him', *jā-ngā-me*, 'he whom I eat'.

*Voice*. Bāhing verb can be said to possess an active, a passive and a middle. The active and passive are distinguished by adding different personal suffixes denoting the subject or the object. Thus, *jā-ngā*, 'eat-I, I eat him', *jā y-ī*, 'eat-me, I am eaten'. The middle is formed by adding suffix *-s* or *-si* and conjugating as usual.

In order to conjugate a Bāhing verb various pronominal suffixes indicating the subject and the object are added. If more than one suffix is added to one and the same form, the suffix of the first person comes before that of the second, that of the second before that of the third. The suffixes of the subject and the object are sometimes different, and sometimes also identical.

The Bāhing verb only has two tenses, a present and a past. The present is also used as a future. The past is formed by adding a suffix *-ta*, or, before suffixes beginning with vowels, *-t*, to the base, Various suffixes are added to the base to form past and present tense.

*Verbal noun*. The usual verbal noun is formed by adding the suffix *-cho* ; thus, *ja-cho*, 'to eat'. Another suffix *-ne* is common in connection with verbs meaning 'to begin', 'to end',

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'to wish', and so forth ; thus, *jā-ne-dwak-t-ōng*, 'I wished to eat'.

*Causals.* Causals are often formed from intransitive bases by hardening the initial consonant ; thus *dekko*, 'fall' ; *tokkho*, 'cause to fall'. [LSI pp. 330-337]

## MINOR KHAMBU DIALECTS

There are in all seventeen minor Khambu dialects. Excepting two, namely, Rāi and Vāyu, the materials available regarding other dialects are so scanty that a grammatical sketch of the dialects concerned cannot be made out. Hence only two dialects, mentioned above, are being described here. [LSI p. 340]

## RĀI

**128** The country between Dud Kosi and Tambor rivers in Nepal is inhabited by the tribes known as Jimdārs and Yākhās. They claim that their country alone is properly called *Kirānt dēś*. They call themselves Rāis. [LSI p. 373]

*Pronunciation.* The dialect has gutturals, palatals, dentals and labials, four each. The cerebrals *ṭ* and *ḍ* occur in a few words. It is not certain if their pronunciation differs from that of the corresponding dentals. [LSI p. 374]

*Articles.* There are no articles. The numeral *tick-pu*, 'one' is often used as an indefinite article. If the qualified noun denotes a human being, the Aryan *janā*, 'person', is sometimes substituted for the final *pu* of *tik-pu* ; thus, *tik-janā minu*, 'one-person man'. [LSI p. 374]

*Nouns : Gender.* The natural gender is distinguished by using different words or adding words denoting the gender, thus, *pu*, 'father' ; *mu*, 'mother' ; *wa-lanchu*, 'brother' ; *wa-michun*, 'sister'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural.

*Case.* The subject of intransitive verbs and the object are not distinguished by means of any suffix. The base alone is also

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used as a dative ; thus, *chākara-hām lu-ti-ni*, 'servants said, he said to the servants'. Sometimes, however, Aryan suffix *-lāi*, 'for', is used instead ; thus, *pu-lāi*, 'to the fathers'.

The subject of transitive verbs is usually put in the agentive case, which is also used as an instrumental. It is formed by adding the suffix *-ā* ; thus, *pu-ā lu-du*, 'the father-by said'.

[LSI pp. 374-375]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives precede the noun they qualify and are often put in the genitive ; thus, *ghala-pu siso*, 'great famine'.

[LSI p. 375]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns for 'I' are *ang*, *angu* ; for 'thou' are *ānu*, *ānā*, and ; for 'he' *um*, *mom*, *mam*, *yākam*. There are separate forms for duals and also double sets of the dual and the plural of the first person, one including and one excluding the person addressed. Thus, *ī-chi*, 'I and thou' ; *ō chu'*, 'I and he' ; *i-ki*, *in-ki*, 'I and you' ; *ang-ku*, 'I and they'.

The forms *o*, *wa*, 'my' ; *ā* 'thy' ; *u*, 'his' are used as pronominal prefixes with nouns ; thus, *o-ngasi-hām*, 'my companions'. An interrogative pronoun is sometimes also used as a kind of relative ; *o-po mā go tum āp-pong*, 'mine what is this thine, all that I have is thine'. [LSI pp. 375-376]

*Verbs.* The verb is still virtually a noun. The subject of transitive verbs is put in the case of the agent ; there is no passive ; and verbal forms are freely used in connection with postpositions. The pronominal prefixes and suffixes are, to a small extent, used in order to denote the subject and object.

The most common base of the verb substantive is *mo* or *mu*. It has, besides, the fuller meaning of sitting down, residing.

The base alone is used as a present ; thus, *ā-nā-mā wa*, 'thy name what is ?' The most common suffix of the present tense is *-ta* or *-tā* ; thus, *ang mo-tā*, 'I am'.

The base alone is also used as a past tense ; thus *mo*, 'they were, he lived'. The common suffix is *-u*, which is usually preceded by consonants, such as *t* or *d*, *ch*, and *n*. Thus, *yom-du*, 'I have beaten'. Most of the forms of past tense can end in suffix *-m*. They are then properly nouns of agency or relative

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participles, but can also be used with the function of ordinary verbs. Thus, *go-m*, 'he was'.

The suffix *-ta* or *-tu* is also used with a future meaning ; thus, *ang lu-o-nu ā-s-ta*, 'I saying will-say.'

The base alone is used as an imperative ; thus, *tu*, 'put' ; *bi*, 'give.'

*Verbal nouns.* The most common verbal noun is formed by adding the suffix *-nu* ; thus, *lu-nu*, 'to say.' [LSI pp. 376-379]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. Qualifying words precede the qualified ones. [LSI p. 379]

## VĀYU

129 The Vāyus inhabit the slopes of the central region of the Himalaya in Nepal.

It is a typical language of the complex pronominalized class, though the conjugational system is less complicated than in the case of Bāhing. [LSI p. 382]

*Pronunciation.* According to Hodgson consonant *kh* has a peculiar sound, verging upon a vague *th* or hard *h*, or Sanskrit *kṣh*. Thus *khis-to*, 'rub'. It is hard Arabic as in *khwasto*, 'to tighten'.

Old final consonants are often slurred, and the word is then pronounced in the abrupt tone ; thus, *top-ta*, 'struck', but *to'-vi*, 'striking.' The abrupt tone is indicated by means of the sign after the vowel or the consonant. Another tone, is also met within some words ; thus, *mī*, 'that', *tō-vi*, 'placing.' [LSI pp. 382-383]

*Nouns : Gender.* There is no grammatical gender. The natural gender is distinguished by using different words or by adding suffixes : such, as *-wo* and *-cho*, 'male' ; *-mi*, 'female' ; *tā-wo*, 'boy' ; *tā-mi*, 'girl.'

*Number.* There are three numbers, the singular, the dual, and the plural. Number is not separately indicated if it can be inferred from the context.

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*Case.* The case of the subject and the object are not indicated by means of any suffix. They are sufficiently marked in the verb. The subject of transitive verb is, however, put in the case of the agent or the instrumental in such forms as are common to the active and the passive. [LSI pp. 383-384]

*Adjectives.* Most words used as adjectives are formed from verbal bases, and they are also used as participles ; thus, *met'-vi*, 'dying' ; *me'-ta*, 'dead'. When adjectives are used as nouns, they are often qualified by suffixes denoting the gender ; thus, *suksa-wo*, 'the hungry man.'

Comparison is effected by putting the compared noun in the ablative ; thus, *wathi-m khem cho'-mi*, 'him from small, smaller than he.'

The first four numerals have separate forms for the masculine, the feminine, and the irrational gender. The numerals above four are usually counted in hands, feet and scores ; thus, *kolu got' khulup*, 'one hand entire, five' ; *le got' khulup*, 'feet hands all, twenty.' [LSI pp. 384-385]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun(s) for 'I' is *gō* ; for 'thou' is *gōn* ; for 'he' are *wathi*, *mī*, *ī*.

Pronouns are in most respects inflected like nouns. There are, however, separate genitive bases, which are also used before the suffixes *-khen* of the ablative and *-bē* of the locative, as also before postpositions, such as *-nung*, 'with.' The genitive bases are : *ang-chi* 'my and his' ; *ung-chi* 'my and thy'. So also in plural.

The pronouns of the third person are also used as demonstrative pronouns ; thus, *ī*, 'this' ; *mī* and *wathi*, 'that'. [LSI p. 385]

*Verbs.* The verb is the most interesting feature of Vāyu grammar. It is often a mere noun without different forms to denote the person of the subject. In such cases the subject of transitive verbs is put in the case of the agent. On the other hand, there is a long series of forms in which the person of the subject and the object are indicated by means of pronominal affixes inserted in the verb. It appears that this system of indicating the subject and the object by means of pronominal suffixes

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is on its way towards being superseded by the Tibeto-Burman principle, according to which the verb is a kind of noun incapable of inflexion in person and number.

*Voice.* There are three voices, the active, the passive, and the middle. The active and passive voices are distinguished by the use of pronominal affixes indicating the object in the case of the former, which are dropped in the latter. The active and passive forms are often confounded, many forms being used with an active as well as passive meaning, where a distinction between the subject and object is made by means of additions to the noun. The middle voice is formed from transitive, and also from some intransitive verbs by inserting *-che-*, dual *-na-* ; plural *-chi-*, between the base and the personal affixes denoting the subject.

*Tense.* There are two finite tenses, the present and the past, and the difference between the two is not great. The present is also used as a future. These tenses are distinguished by using different affixes to denote the subject in the dual and in the first person plural.

*Imperative.* It is identical with the past except that it is not followed by the copula *mi* or *m* ; thus *phī*, 'come' ; *phī-chhe*, 'come you two.'

*Verbal noun.* The base alone is used as a verbal noun ; thus, *phit'-hē*, 'coming-in, coming'.

*Causals.* Causals are formed by hardening a soft initial or else by suffixing *-ping* to the base. Thus, *buk'*, 'wake', *puk'*, 'awaken' ; *phok* and *bok-ping*, 'beget.' [LSI pp. 386-394].



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## 130 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND PHRASES IN THE EASTERN PRONOMINALIZED HIMALAYAN LANGUAGES

| *English* | *Dhīmal* | *Yakhā* | *Vāyu* |
|---|---|---|---|
| one | e | ikko | kolu |
| two | ngē | hick-chi | nā-yung |
| three | sūm | sum-ji | chhu-yung |
| four | diā | li-gi | blī-ning |
| hand | khūr | muk | gōt |
| foot | khōkōi | lang | lē |
| head | pūrin | tāng-khruk | pūchhi |
| a father | aba | ikko bā | ūpū |
| of a father | aba-ko | ikko bā-gā | ūpū |
| to a father | aba-ēang | x | ūpū |
| two fathers | ngē-long aba | hichchi bā | ūpū nakpo |
| I am | kā jēhi-kā | kāi | nō-ngo-m |
| thou art | nā jēhi-nā | ing-khi nākkā | nō-nu-m |
| he is | wā jēhi | u-khi-i | nō-mi |
| we are | kjēl jēhi khēl | ā ning nā- hāi | nō ke-m |
| you are | njēl jēhi nyēl | ing-khi nā-kū | nō-ne-m |
| they are | ū-bal jēhi | i-khā-zi nāekhā | nō-me-m |
| I was | kā higa-hi-kā | kā wāeng-nā | nō-sung-mi |
| thou wast | nā higā-ni-nā | ing-khi wāe-gā-nā | no-nu-m |
| he was | wā higā-hi | hitnā-wae na | no-mi |
| we were | kyēl higā-hi kyēl | āning-khi wainghā | nō-keng-ni |
| you were | nyel higā-hi nyēl | inning-khik waiga-hā | nō-ne-m |
| they were | ū-bal higā-hi | i-khā-zi waeha-zi | nō-me-m |
| I shall be | kā jēnkā | kā leng-ngā | nō-ngo-m |
| I beat | kā dāng-hai-khi-kā | mok-neng | to'-mi |
| thou beatest | nā dāng-hai-khi-nā | ing-khi-ngā mok -tu-gā | to'-mi |

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| *English* | *Dhīmal* | *Yakha* | *Vayu* |
|---|---|---|---|
| he beats | wā dāng-hai-khi | u-khi-ngāng mok-tū | to'-mi |
| we beat | kyēl dāng-hai-khi-kyēl | kā-ni-ngā mok-tu-nu | to'-pe-m |
| you beat | kyēl dāng-hai-khi-nyēl | ing-khi-ngā mok-tu | top-ne-m |
| they beat | ū-bal dāng-hai khi | u-jing-khik-ngā mokkā | to'-me-m |
| I beat (past) | kā dāng-hai-hi-kā | x | to'-pung-mi |
| thou beatest (past) | nā dāng-hai-hi-nā | x | to'-pu-m |
| he beat (past) | wā dāng-hai-hi | x | to'-pu-m |
| we beat (past) | kyēl dāng-hai hi-kyēl | x | to'-pi-keng-mi |
| you beat (past) | nyēl dāng-hai-hi-nyēl | x | tom-ne-m |
| they beat (past) | ū-bal dāng-hai-hi | x | to'-po-me-m |
| I shall beat | kā dāng-hai-āng-kā | kā mok-twāng-ngā | to'-mi |

[LSI pp. 408-425]

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## COMPLEX PRONOMINALIZED LANGUAGES

### WESTERN SUB-GROUP

**131** On and about the ethnographic watershed between Tibetan and Aryan there is dotted a series of small dialects which are mainly of a Tibeto-Burman stamp, but, besides, they have those characteristic features which have been mentioned in connection with the pronominalized languages of Nepal.

The dialects in question are found in the North of Almora, in Kanawar, and in Kangra, Lahul, and Chamba.

The most characteristic dialect of this group is the so-called Kanāw$^{a}$rī, spoken in Kanawar. We there find more traces of the influence of a non-Tibeto-Burman sub-stratum than in any other Himalayan dialect. The old language must have belonged to Muṇḍā family. Checked 'semi-consonants' similar to Muṇḍā languages appear to exist in Kanāw$^{a}$rī, as in *yunék'*, 'sun'. Higher numbers are counted in twenties as in Muṇḍā languages. There are double forms of the dual and plural of the first person as in Muṇḍā. Thus, *níshi*, 'I and he'; *káshang*, 'I and thou'. In Kanāw$^{a}$rī the subject can be indicated by adding pronominal suffixes to the verb as in Muṇḍā. All these features are not Tibeto-Burman. This tendency of adding pronominal suffixes is found in most of the other dialects of this group.

In the Almora dialects we find the frequent use of reduplication in verbal bases. Cf. Chandāngsī *kū-kōr-ta*, 'brought'. The reduplication only intensifies the meaning. This is in agreement with Muṇḍā languages. Cf. Santālī, *dal*, 'to strike'; *da-dal*, 'to strike hard'. [LSI pp. 427-429]

### KANĀW$^{A}$RĪ

**132** Kanāw$^{a}$rī is the name of the dialect or dialects spoken in the Sutlej Valley from the junction of that river with the Spiti stream. [LSI p. 430]



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*Pronunciation.* Long and short vowels are often interchanged, and, in many cases their length is quite indefinite. The sound of *ü* in *pü*, 'four', is said to be something between the Latin *u* and *oe*. The final *k*' in *Yunék*', 'sun', is said to be only half pronounced. It may be having the abrupt tone of Central and Western Tibetan. This tone is of frequent occurrence in the dialect. [LSI p. 431]

*Article.* There is no article. The numeral *id*, 'one', often in the abbreviated form *ī*, is used as an indefinite article; thus, *id bánia*, 'a shopkeeper'; *īmī-ū*, 'to a man'. [LSI p. 431]

*Nouns: Gender.* Gender is distinguished in the common way by using different words or by adding words denoting the sex. Thus, *dámas*. 'bull'; *lang*, 'cow'; *kyō-ráng*; 'horse'; *mántrang*, 'mare'.

*Number.* There are three numbers, the singular, the dual, and the plural. The dual is indicated by the addition of the numeral *nish*. 'two'; thus, *nish bóbā*, 'two fathers'. The plural is not indicated when it appears from the context. The usual plural suffix is *-on* or, after vowels, *-n*; this *chīmed-ón*, 'daughters'; *bōbá-n*, 'fathers'.

*Case.* The nominative and the accusative are not usually distinguished by means of any suffix. The dative is formed by adding *-ū* or *-u*. and this form is often also used as an accusative. Thus, *bōbá-ū*, 'to a father'; *gá-ū nú-u pishíng den shed*, 'put the saddle up on his back'. The subject of transitive verbs is usually put in the case of the agent, which is formed by adding the suffix *-s*; thus, *chang-s lán-shits*, 'son-by given, the son has given'. [LSI p. 432]

*Adjectives.* The comparison is expressed by adding *-s*, i.e., probably the suffix of the ablative, to the compound noun and retaining the adjective unchanged. Thus, *nū-u baíā án-u ríngsē-s lámas dū*, 'his brother own sister-from tall is, his brother is taller than his sister'. [LSI p. 433]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns in Kanāw^arī have developed a richly varied system of different forms. The personal pronoun for 'I' is *ga* for 'he' is *do*; the second person singular has two forms; ordinary; *ka*; respectful, *ki*. In the case of the

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dual and the plural of the first person there are two different sets of forms, one including and the one excluding the party addressed. Thus, dual, *níshī* (excl.) *káshang* (incl.) ; plural *ningán* (excl.) ; *kíshang* (incl.). There are no relative pronouns. Relative clauses are apparently formed by using the interrogative pronouns. Thus, *kan chhang, hāis*, 'that son whom-by'. [LSI pp. 433-434]

*Verbs.* The Kanāw$^{a}$rī verb possesses a richly developed system of different forms. Intransitive verbs are comparatively simple. Transitive verbs on the other hand can assume several forms, according to the nature of the object. These forms are not in accordance with Tibeto-Burman grammatical principles but are quite common in Muṇḍā languages.

The usual base of the verb substantive is *to*. In the past tense we also find a fuller form *tōkē*. Only a present and a past are formed by this base. Other tenses are supplied from the bases *hach*, 'to become' ; *ni*, 'to remain' ; *tōsh*, 'to sit, to be'.

The usual present tense is formed by adding the present of the verb substantive to the participle ending in *-o*. Thus, *gabí-ō to-g*, 'I am going, I go'.

The suffix of past time is apparently *-i* or *-e*. The terminations are mainly the same as in the present.

The future is formed by adding the present tense of the verb substantive to the base. Thus, *tóng-tog*, 'I shall strike'.

The base alone is used as an imperative. Personal terminations are added in the respectful form, in the dual and the plural. Thus, *bīū*, 'go' ; respectful *bīny* ; dual *bīch* ; plural *bīch*, respectful *bīny*.

*Verbal nouns.* The usual suffixes of the verbal noun are *-m* or *-im-* and *-ig* ; thus, *káchim*, 'to become' ; *tón-mig*, 'to be'.

*Participles.* Conjunctive participles appear to be formed by reduplicating the base ; thus, *tóng-tong*, 'beating'.

*Passive voice.* There is no passive voice. Passivity is sufficiently indicated by the absence of the suffix of the agent after the subject. [LSI pp. 434-438]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. Qualifying words precede the qualified ones. [LSI p. 438]

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## KANĀSHĪ

133 Kanāshī dialect is spoken in a glen within the Bias Valley, containing only the village, called by outsiders Malāna and by the villagers themselves Mālānī. [LSI p. 442]

*Articles.* There are no articles, but *i*, the shortest form of the first numeral, is often used as a kind of indefinite article, thus, *i maṛshang-ka-di*, 'with a man'. [LSI p. 443]

*Nouns : Gender.* Gender is distinguished in the common way, by using different words or adding terms denoting the sex ; thus, *rāng*, 'horse' ; *mīch rāng*, 'mare'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The latter is not necessarily marked, when it appears from the context ; thus, *shum rhad*, 'three bulls'.

*Case.* The subject of intransitive verbs is not distinguished by means of any suffix, but that of the transitive verbs is usually distinguished by means of a suffix *-sh*, or *-s* ; thus, *bā-sh tang-mo*, 'father-by saw, the father saw'. The object is often distinguished by adding a *-p* ; thus, *laṭa-phaṭa-p*, 'property' [LSI p. 443]

*Adjectives.* The comparison is expressed in the usual way by putting the compared noun in the ablative or the locative ; thus, *sab-ka nits akli*, 'all from wise' ; *sab-a-tek*, 'all among great'. [LSI pp. 443-444]

*Numerals.* The higher numbers are counted in twenties, though the Aryan method of reckoning in tens is also commonly used by men, while the women stick to the other way. [LSI p. 444]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun (s) for 'I' is *gu* ; for 'thou' is *ko* ; fot 'he, she, it' are *du, nu*. There are no dual forms and no double forms of the plural of the first person, denoting the exclusive and inclusive plural. The pronoun of the third person is also used as a demonstrative pronoun. [LSI p. 444]

*Verbs.* There is a strong tendency to distinguish the person of the subject by adding suffixes to the verb ; thus, *boke-k*, 'I went' ; *boke-n*, 'wentest' ; *bok*, 'he went'.

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There are two tenses, a present-future and a past. The usual suffix of the present, which is also used as a future, is apparently *-ta*, added to the base or to a form ending in *-u*, *-ku*, or *-gu* ; thus, *bong-ta-k*, 'I go, I shall go', *to-ta-ng*, 'we strike, we shall strike'. The usual suffixes of past time are apparently *-me* or *-mo* and *-k*, *-ke* or *-ge* ; thus, *shaṇ-mo-g*, 'I did', *mil-ek*, 'was found'.

The base alone can be used as an imperative ; thus, *raṇ*, 'give', *ach*, 'be'.

*Verbal nouns.* The usual verbal nouns are formed by adding the suffix *-m* or *-miz* ; thus, *yang-m*, 'to live' ; *la-miz*, 'to wear'. [LSI pp. 444-446]

*Order of words.* The order of words is said to be comparatively free. The usual succession, however, is subject, object, verb. [LSI p. 446]

## MANCHĀṬĪ OR PAṬNĪ

**134** Manchat or Patan is a portion of Lahul district adjacent to Chamba Lahul. It is situated on both sides of the united Chandra-Bhaga. The dialect spoken in this area is known as Manchāṭī or Paṭnī.

This dialect is closely related to the other Lahul dialects, and also to Kanāw$^{a}$rī. The grammatical system is not so complicated as in that latter dialect. The same use of pronominal suffixes in order to distinguish the various persons of verbal tenses is, however, common to both [LSI p. 453]

*Pronunciation.* Short final vowels are often dropped. Thus, the pronominal suffixes of the first two persons are *-ga* and *-g* ; *-na* and *-n*, respectively.

Aspirated consonants occur only in loan words ; thus, *ghar-bār*, 'house'.

Initial double consonants are not frequent.

Final consonants in words such as *tot*, 'is', *siyatek*, 'he was dead', are only half pronounced. [LSI pp. 453-454]

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*Articles.* The numeral *idi, i,* 'one' is used as an indefinite article, and definiteness is indicated by using demonstrative pronouns and relative clauses. [LSI p. 454]

*Nouns: Gender.* The natural gender is distinguished by using different words or by means of qualifying additions. Thus, *ritsa.* 'he-goat' ; *lā,* 'she-goat' ; *khui,* 'dog' ; *mingaṛã-khui,* 'bitch'.

*Number.* There are apparently two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plural is not marked when it appears from the context.

*Case.* The subject of intransitive verbs and the object are not distinguished by means of any suffix. The subject of transitive verbs is put in the case of the agent, which is formed by adding a suffix which occurs as *-dzi, -zi, -tsi,* and *-i.* [LSI pp. 454-455]

*Adjectives.* The adjectives precede the noun they qualify. [LSI p. 455]

*Numerals.* Higher numbers are counted in twenties, as is the case in Kanāw$^{a}$rī. [LSI p. 455]

*Pronouns.* The pronoun for first person singular is *gye ;* for third person singular is *du* ; second person singular has two forms; ordinary *ka* ; respectful *kye-na.* The dual and plural in the first person have two forms each ; one exclusive and the other inclusive.

The interrogative pronouns are made indefinite by adding *-la* or *-le* ; thus, *a-tsi-la,* 'by any one'. The interrogative pronouns are also used as relatives. Thus, *du khol-zi ãu sungar -re zoa-to-re,* 'by those husks which the swine ate'. [LSI pp. 455-456].

*Verbs.* The verb is in all essential points a noun. The subject of transitive verbs is accordingly commonly put in the case of the agent, and there is no separate passive. However, the various persons are commonly distinguished by adding pronominal suffixes, viz., *-ga* or *-g* for the first, *-na* or *-n* for the second, and *-d* or nothing for the third person singular.

The usual bases of the verb substantive are *shu* and *tot'*.



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The present tense is often formed by adding the personal suffixes of the present tense of the verb substantive to the participles or verbal nouns ending in *ba*, *pa*, *dza*, *a*, etc. Thus, *teng-ba-g*, 'I strike' ; *pi-pa-d*, 'he comes'.

The usual suffix of past time is *-i*. Thus, *lha-i-ga*, 'I have done'. Instead of *-i* fuller forms, such as, *-ri*, *-zi*, *-ti*, *-di* and *-ḍi* are also used. Thus, *teng-ri-ga*, 'I have beaten'.

The base alone is apparently used as a future ; thus, *yo-g*, 'I shall go'.

The base alone is used as an imperative. Commonly, however, the suffix *-u* is added ; thus, *rã-u*, 'give'.

*Verbal nouns.* The verbal nouns are commonly formed by adding postpositions to the base ; *shu-bi*, 'to be' ; *teng-zi*, 'to strike'. Verbal nouns are freely used in the formation of tenses. Thus, *roag-tsa to-re*, 'they are grazing'.

*Passive voice.* There is no passive voice. [LSI pp. 456-458]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. Numerals, adjectives and demonstrative pronouns precede the qualified word. [LSI p. 458]

## CHAMBA LĀHUḶĪ

135 In the north-east portion of the Chamba State there is small number of speakers of a dialect which is almost identical with Manchāṭī. [LSI p. 461]

*Articles.* The numeral *ī*, 'one', is used as an indefinite article ; thus, *ī miũ*, 'of a man'. [LSI p. 461]

*Nouns : Gender.* The natural gender is distinguished by using different words or by means of qualifying additions. Thus, *bā*, 'father', *yā*, 'mother' ; *taṛ-bhīṛ*, 'male cat' ; *bhīṛ*, female cat'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and plural. The plural is not expressed when it appears from the context.

*Case.* The subject of intransitive verbs and the object are not distinguished by adding suffixes. The subject of transitive verbs, on the other hand, is put in the agentive case, which is

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said to be formed by adding *ts* or, after vowels, *ē* in the singular and *z* in the plural; thus, *rhã-ts*, 'by a horse'; *mīl-yō-ē*, 'by a daughter'. [LSI pp. 461-462]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives precede the word they qualify; thus, *sāsī rhã* 'the white horse'. [LSI p. 462]

*Numerals.* Higher numbers are counted in twenties. [LSI p. 462]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *gē*; for 'thou' is *ka, ku*; and for 'he' is *du*. The dual and plural in the first person have two forms each, one inclusive and one exclusive. The interrogative pronouns can also be used as relatives; thus, *aũ ghārī chumh kachā pī*, 'what time house near came, when he approached the house'. [LSI p. 462]

*Verbs.* The conjugation of verbs is the same as in Manchāṭī. The usual bases of the verb substantive are *shu* and *to* or *ta*.

The present tense is formed by adding *dō, d* followed by the personal suffixes to the base or to a participle ending in *pā, -bā, -ā*, etc. Thus, *dā-pā-dō*, 'I fall'.

A simple past is formed by adding *-ī* and sub-joining the personal suffixes; thus, *kū-ī-g*, 'I said'. The most common past tense is formed by adding *deg*, (*tog*), etc., to the base or to a verbal noun ending in *ā, pā, bā, mā, zā, ṭ-ā*, etc. Thus, *ā-bā-de-g*, 'I came'. The future is formed by adding *o* to the base or to the verbal noun ending in *-a*, etc. The suffix of third person singular is *-do* or *-du*. Thus, *yo-g*, 'I shall go'.

The imperative is formed by adding *-ō, -u*; thus, *raũ*, 'give'; *keō*, 'leave'.

*Verbal nouns.* The base alone is used as a verbal noun; thus, *drō rẽ*, 'running gave, he ran'. A common verbal noun is formed by adding *-ā, -pā, -bā, -mā, -zā, -ṛā*, etc. Thus, *yuā -dē*, 'going was, he went'. [LSI pp. 462-464]

## BUNÁN

136 Bunán is the dialect spoken on the banks of the river Bhaga, from its confluence with the Chandra and north-eastwards, for

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about 15 miles, till it meets with Tibetan dialects spoken in Spiti and the neighbourhood. This dialect is of the same kind as Kanāw$^{a}$rī, Lāhuḷī and the Almora dialects. [LSI p. 469]

*Pronunciation.* Bunán has no aspirated soft consonants. In addition to the palatals *ch*, *chh*, and *j*, we also find the palatal affricates *ʦ*, *ʦh*, and *ʣ*. Thus *ʦemed*, 'a girl'; *bu-ʦha*, 'a son'; *ʣawo*, 'a friend'. The double consonants of Tibetan are sometimes simplified. Thus, *gyas*, Tibetan *rgyab*, 'back.

[LSI pp. 469-470]

*Article.* The numeral *tiki*, *tiï*, *ti*, 'one', is used as an indefinite article. Thus, *mugē*, *tezi tiki*, 'famine great *a*.

[LSI p. 470]

*Nouns.* With regard to the formation of nouns we may note the use of the prefix *a-* in nouns denoting relationship. Thus, *a-wa*, 'father' *a-ma*, 'mother'.

*Gender.* Gender is distinguished by using different words or by adding affixes. Thus, *mi*, 'man'; *las-mi*, 'woman'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plural is not distinguished when it appears from the context.

*Case.* The base alone is used to denote the subject of intransitive verbs and the object. The object is, however, sometimes followed by the postposition of the dative. The subject of transitive verbs is usually put in the agentive case. Thus, *phētsē-ʦug-ʦi*, 'by the younger son'.

The dative and locative have all been confounded into one case, which is occasionally also used to denote the object of transitive verbs. [LSI pp. 471-472]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives usually follow, but sometimes also precede, the word they qualify. Thus, *len-mi noï*, 'workmen many'; *shii shrangs -kyi*, 'the white horse's'. [LSI p. 472]

*Numerals.* The Bunán numeral forms most closely correspond to those in use in the Almora dialects. Higher numbers are counted in twenties as in Kanāw$^{a}$rī. [LSI p. 472]

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*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns for 1st and 3rd person singular are *gyi* and *tal*, respectively. The second person has two forms ; ordinary, *han* ; respectful *ini*. The dual and plural of first person have two forms, one inclusive and one exclusive, viz., dual, *hing* (excl.), *erang* (incl.) ; plural, *hing-ji*, *hing-zhi* (excl.), *erang-ji*, *erang-zhi* (incl.).

There are no relative pronouns. Relative participles are used instead. The suffix *-tsug* is usually added to for msuch participles. It apparently adds definiteness. Thus, *te-zi-tsug butsha*, 'the elder son'. [LSI pp. 472-473]

*Verbs.* The conjugation of verbs is of the same kind as in Kanāw$^{a}$rī. The various persons are, to some extent, distinguished by means of pronominal suffixes.

The usual bases of the verb substantive are *yen* and *ni* ; thus, *yen-gya*, 'am' ; *ni-za*, 'was'.

On account of the frequent use of pronominal suffixes the conjugation of an ordinary verb makes a rather complex impression.

Several suffixes are used to form a present. A common one is *-cha*, plural *-chha*.

The most common suffix of the ordinary past is *-za*, dual and plural *tsha*. Thus, *lig-ki-za*, 'I did'. A perfect is formed by adding *-men* ; thus, *khyed-men-gya*, 'I struck, I have struck'.

The suffix of the future is *kya-ta* or *ka-ta* i.e. *-ta* added to a participle ending in *kya* or *ka* ; thus, *khyed-kya-ta*, 'I shall strike'.

The base alone is used as an imperative ; thus, *za*, 'eat' ; *ra*, 'come'. In the plural *ni* is added ; thus, *lig-ni*, 'make ye'.

*Verbal nouns and participles.* The Bunán verb, like that of other Tibeto-Burman languages is properly a verbal noun. The base itself is freely used as a noun and case suffixes are added. As a consequence it is difficult to distinguish between what we might call participles and verbal nouns. A common suffix which is used to form verbal nouns and participles occurs in various forms, such as *-kya*, *-ka*, *-kha*, *-cha*, *-sha*. Thus, *hin-zhi e-kha goaik'*, 'our

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going is, we go' ; *shi-cha khom-ji*. 'dying finished—having, having died'.

*Passive voice*. There is no passive voice. 'I am struck' must be translated 'somebody struck me'. [LSI pp. 473-475]

*Order of words*. The order of words is subject, object, verb. [LSI p. 475]

## RANGKAS OR SAUKIYĀ KHUN

**137** Rangkas is a form of speech used by Bhōṭiās all over upper Johar and upper Danpur in the north-west corner of district Almora. [LSI p. 479]

*Pronunciation*. The phonetic system is broadly the same as in the neighbouring dialects of Almora. Long and short vowels are often interchanged ; thus, *jī* and *ji*, 'I'. Hard and soft consonants are apparently very freely interchanged ; thus, *rā-ch* and *rā-j*, 'came' ; *r* is interchanged with *ṛ* ; thus *gulpair* and *gulpaiṛ*, 'ever'. [LSI pp. 479-480]

*Article*. *tā*, a shorter form of the numeral *tā-kā*, 'one', and indefinite pronouns, such as, *khamī*, *gub*, *gār*, 'some' are used as indefinite articles ; thus, *khamī-bā*, 'a father'. [LSI p. 480]

*Nouns : Gender*. Different words are used to distinguish the gender. Thus, *lā̃*, 'bull' ; *bēn*, 'cow'.

*Number*. There are two numbers, a singular and a plural. The plural is not distinguished by means of any suffix when it can be inferred from the context.

*Case*. The nominative and the accusative, i.e. the cases of the subject of intransitive verbs and of the object, are not distinguished by means of any suffix, although the genitive and the dative sometimes occur in the function of the object. Thus, *jal-gō chhē-tas*, 'his share (-of) he divided' ; *u-chabā̃ u-g lō-r lai-s*, 'him (-to) his bosom -to clasped'. The subject of transitive verbs is usually put in the agentive case which is formed by adding the suffix *-sō*, *-sū*, *-si* or *-s* ; thus, *bā-sō lē-s*, 'father-by said, the father said'. [LSI pp. 480-481]

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*Adjectives.* The adjectives precede the qualified noun in the nominative. In *nyāpan-sō sērī dhuk-chhan dū-nyā*, 'the small-by son all gathering, the younger son having gathered all', the case suffix has been added to the adjective *nyāpan* and not, as we would expect to the noun. [LSI p. 481]

*Numerals.* Higher numbers are counted in twenties. [LSI p. 481]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun (s) for 'I' are *ji*, *jē*, *jin*; for 'thou' is *ga*; and for 'he' are *hvē*, *u*.

The Aryan loan word *apnō*, *apnō-gō*, *apnō-k*, 'own' is used as a reflexive pronoun. [LSI pp. 481-482]

*Verbs.* The verb substantive is formed from the bases *lhē*, *ni*, and *si*. The bases of the verb substantive are freely formed of the various tenses of finite verbs.

To indicate the present time, sometime, the base alone is used and sometimes the suffixes *-n*, *-ni*, *-t* or *-d* are added. Thus, *dıng*, 'he falls'; *hvē-t*, 'he is grazing'.

The common suffix of the past time is *-s* or *-su*; thus, *lī-s*, 'he said. The base is sometimes reduplicated, and suffixes such as *-dī*, *-ti* and *-n*, all probably various forms of the copula, are added. Thus, *ga-gā-dī*, 'he has done'.

The present is apparently also used as a future; thus, *di-ś*, 'I shall go'.

The base alone is often used as an imperative; thus, *kur*, 'take'.

*Verbal noun.* The base alone is used as a verbal noun. Thus, *ho*, 'to feed'. The usual suffix is *-m* or *-mō*; thus, *sai-m chyung-ni*, 'to strike is proper'.

*Participles.* The participles which are used as adjectives are formed by adding *-n*, past *-san*, to the base; thus, *jā-n sich*, 'eating were'. [LSI pp. 482-483]

*Order of words.* The order of words is subject, object, verb. [LSI p. 483]

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## DĀRMIYĀ

**138** Dārmiyā speakers are Bhōṭiās, who reside in the Paṭṭi of Darma, which forms part of the Darma Pargana of Almora district.

Dārmiyā is closely related to the dialects spoken in the neighbouring districts of Byangs and Chaudangs. It has been much influenced by the Aryan forms of speech in vocabulary and grammar, not however to the same extent as chaudāngsī. [LSI p. 490]

*Pronunciation.* The phonetic system is richly developed. Vowels *a*, *i* and *u* are both short and long. *e* and *o* are always marked long. *Ō* and *ū* often interchange ; thus, *tadō* and *tadū*, 'that'.

With regard to consonants there are gutturals, cerebrals, palatals, dentals and labials, of the aspirated soft consonants only *dh*, *ḍh* and *bh* occur. There are two *s*-sounds, a dental *s* and a palatal *sh*. There is a dental *r* and a cerebral *ṛ*. Final consonants of classical Tibetan are often dropped. Thus *lā*, Tibetan *lag*, 'hand'. [LSI pp. 490-491]

*Articles.* There are no articles. Indefinite pronouns and the numeral *tākō*, *tā*, 'one', are used as an indefinite article, and demonstrative pronouns are sometimes used as a kind of definite article. Thus, *khamī bā*, *gabū bā*, 'a certain father' ; *idū phū-gū dāṛ-myā*, 'at the door of the cave'. [LSI p. 491]

*Nouns : Gender.* The natural gender is distinguished by using different words, or by adding affixes denoting the gender. Thus, *bā*, 'father' ; *minā*, 'mother' ; *phō-phū*, 'male deer' ; *mō phū*, 'female deer'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The latter is not marked when it appears from the context.

*Case.* The base without the addition of any suffix is commonly used to denote the subject of transitive verbs, and the direct object ; thus *apī daṅ kvē-n*, 'his belly filling'. The dative, and occasionally also the agentive case, are sometimes used to denote the direct object ; thus, *ji-sū u-g sirī-jō kamī-sū*, 'me-by his son-to struck, I have beaten his son'. The subject of the

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transitive verbs is usually put in the case of the agent by adding the suffix *-sū, -s*, which also denotes the instrument. Thus, *sirī-sū lhē-sū*, 'the son said'. [LSI pp. 491-492]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun (s) for 'I' is *jī* ; for 'thou' is *gai* ; for 'he, she, it' are *ū, vō*. Interrogative pronouns are sometimes also used as relatives. In other cases demonstrative pronouns are used as relatives. [LSI pp. 492-493]

*Verbs.* Dārmiyā conjugation is based on the same principles as those found in other connected forms of speech. The various tenses are not formed from different bases, as in the classical Tibetan, but by means of suffixes. There is a distinct tendency to distinguish the person of the subject in the form of the verbs.

The verb substantive is freely used in the formation of various tenses of finite verbs.

The present tense is formed by adding *-sī, -nī* or other forms of the verb substantive to the base. Thus, *sai-tī*, 'strike' *rā-ni*, 'comes'. The usual suffixes of the past tense occur in various forms, such as *-sō, -sū, -s, -chō, -chū* ; thus, *lhē-sū*, 'he said'. The present is sometimes used as a future ; thus, *dī-si* 'I will go'. Usually, however, a suffix *-yāng* or *-yã* is added, and various forms of the verb substantive are suffixed ; thus, *thē-yāng-si*, 'I shall be'.

The simple base without any suffix is used as an imperative ; thus, *dā*, 'give' ; *dē*, 'go'. Suffixes, such as *-ni, -yā, -tyā* are often added ; thus, *dā-nī*, 'give'.

*Verbal noun.* The base alone is used as an infinitive or verbal noun ; thus, *rāng*, 'to sell'. The common suffix of the verbal noun is *-mō, -mū* or *-m* ; thus *jā-mō*, 'to eat'.

*Participles.* The suffixes *-n(-nū)* and *-lau* are also used in order to form various participles. Thus, *jā-nū nī chū*, 'they were eating', *dī-lau*, 'going'.

*Passive voice.* There is no passive voice. Passivity is sufficiently indicated by the absence of the suffix of the agent after the subject. [LSI pp. 493-495]

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*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. The qualifying word precedes the qualified one. By the introduction of relative clauses from Aryan forms of speech the order of words has, however, to some extent been disturbed.

[LSI p. 495]

## CHĀUDĀNGSĪ

**139** Chaudāngsī is the dialect spoken by Bhōṭiās in Patti Chaudangs in district Almora.

Chaudāngsī has been influenced from various sources, and is in some respects a mixed form of speech. Aryan vernaculars have contributed to the vocabulary, and also, to some extent, modified the grammar. There are also indications which point to an old influence exercised by other forms of speech.

[LSI p. 503]

*Pronunciation.* Final vowels are often dropped; thus, *atī*, *ati* and *at*, 'that'. This is very commonly the case in suffixes. On the other hand, an *a* is sometimes inserted between concurrent consonants in order to make the pronunciation easier. Thus, *tung-a-m*, 'to drink'. [LSI pp. 503-504]

*Article.* There is no definite article. The pronoun *udī*, *udīn*, 'a certain', and the numeral *tig*, 'one', are used as an indefinite article; thus, *udī bā*, *tig bā*, 'a father'; *udī-n mī-g*, 'of a man' [LSI pp. 504-505]

*Nouns : Gender.* Gender is distinguished in the usual way by means of separate words or by adding words denoting 'male', 'female' respectively. Thus, *mā-lā*, 'he-goat'; *mā sāng*, 'she-goat'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plural is not marked when it appears from the context.

*Case.* The nominative, i.e., the case of the subject of intransitive verbs, does not take any suffix. Thus, *na-g na-nā pirād-anī*, 'the younger brother has returned'. The same form is often also used to denote the object of transitive verbs; thus, *ji-s vō sirī mat chyāk -dāgas*, 'I have beaten his son with many

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stripes'. The subject of transitive verbs is usually put in the agentive case, which is formed by adding the suffix *-s* to the base ; thus, *bā-s lhi-s*, 'the father said'. The usual suffix of the genitive is *-g* ; thus, *mi-g*, 'of a man'. The genitive is sometimes expressed by simply putting the governed before the governing noun, without any suffix ; thus, *nā bā chim -jā*, 'in thy father's house'. [LSI pp. 504-505]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *ji* ; for 'thou' is *gan* ; for 'he, she, it' is *u, vo*.

The Aryan loan-word *apī*, 'self', is used as a reflexive pronoun ; thus, *apī-āp*, 'he himself'. The relatives are Aryan loan-words, and relative clauses are usually formed according to Aryan grammar. Thus, *tig mī, jai-g tig chhandī nīnnī, hāng rī-nī-nī*, 'one man, whose one hut was, also lived'. The dialect has also borrowed some Aryan conjunctions, such as, *jab*, 'when' ; *ki*, 'that'. [LSI pp. 505-506]

*Verbs.* The various bases of the verb substantive are freely used in the formation of the tenses of other verbs. The number of forms is very great.

A common present tense is formed by adding *-nī* to the base ; thus, *chhyū-nī*, 'I get'. Another present is formed by adding *t*, probably the suffix of a present participle, to the base. This *t* is then followed by different pronominal suffixes in various persons. Thus, *sai-t-ū*, 'I strike' ; *khvē-t-ā*, 'he digs'.

The present tense is often used with the meaning of a past ; thus *rā-nī*, 'he came'. The common suffix of past tense is *-s* or *-as* ; thus, *dē-ya-s*, 'I went'. The past tense is very often formed by adding suffixes, such as *-tā*, etc., *-ni* and *-tatā*, etc., to a reduplicated base. Final consonants are not repeated in the reduplication. Thus, *syū-syung-tū*, 'I have done'. The suffix of the future is apparently *-ang* ; thus, *lhy-āng*, 'I shall be'.

The base alone is used as an imperative ; thus, *lhē*, 'be'. The most common imperative suffixes are apparently *-y, -ya*, or *-yā* ; thus *havē-y*, 'draw'.

*Verbal nouns.* The base alone is occasionally used as a verbal noun ; thus, *tung*, 'to drink'.

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*Passive voice.* There is no passive voice. [LSI pp. 506-510]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. Qualifying additions precede the qualified word. The indirect object sometimes precedes and sometimes follows the direct one. [LSI p. 510]

## BYĀNGSĪ

**140** This is the dialect spoken in Paṭṭi Byangs, in the north-eastern corner of Almora district. Byāngsī in most characteristics agrees so closely with Chaudāngsī, that it seems probable that both represent the same dialect. [LSI p. 518]

*Article.* The numeral *tig*, 'one', and the pronouns *unā*, *khamī*, and *gāṛ*, 'a certain', are used as an indefinite article; thus, *tig mī*, 'a man'; *unā mī-gai*, 'of a man'. [LSI p. 518]

*Nouns : Gender.* Gender is distinguished by using different words or by adding words denoting 'male', 'female', respectively. Thus, *rāng*, 'horse'; *mō-rāng*, 'mare'.

*Case.* The case suffixes are the same as in chaudāngsī. [LSI pp. 518-519]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives precede the noun they qualify in the nominative. Thus, *b̲ud mī-māng*, 'good men'. [LSI p. 519]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *jī*; for 'thou' is *gan*; for 'he' is *vaii*, *ū*. Relative pronouns have been borrowed from Aryan forms of speech. Thus, *rupayā jō. ra-rai-tā*, 'the rupee which he had brought'. [LSI pp. 519-520]

*Verbs.* Byāngsī conjugation in most particulars agrees with chaudāngsī.

The various bases of the verb substantive are freely used in the formation of the tenses of finite verbs.

The usual suffix of the present tense third person is *-tā*, first person *-tū*, *-tō*, second person *-tan*. Thus, *sa-tū*, 'I strike'.

The present tense is often used with the meaning of past; thus, *luk-tā*, 'he said'. The common suffix of the past is *-s* or *-sō*, *-sū*, *-sau*; thus, *nī-sō*, 'was'. As in chaudāngsī, past tense is also

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formed from the reduplicated base, usually by adding one of the suffixes *-tā*, *-nī*, *-sō*. Thus, *nī-nī-sō*, 'was'.

The present is commonly used as a future. Thus, *sa-tō*, 'I shall strike'.

The base alone is used as an imperative; thus, *jā*, 'eat'; *dī*, 'go'. Common imperative suffixes are *-nī*, *-tī*, and *-yō*; thus, *tā-nī*, 'put'.

*Verbal noun.* The common suffix used in forming verbal nouns is *-mō* or *-m*; thus, *jā-mō*, 'to eat'. The base alone is often used as a verbal noun, especially in connection with post-positions thus, *rāng*, 'to sell'.

*Participles.* The conjunctive participles are most commonly formed by adding the suffix of the genitive to the verbal noun which is identical with the base; thus, *yang-gai*, 'hearing'.

*Passive voice.* There is no passive voice. The passivity is indicated by the absence of the case of the subject. Thus, *ji pa-chyāng-tha nī-yē-sō*, 'I struck was'. [LSI pp. 520-522]

*Order of words.* The order of words is the same as in chaudāngsī. [LSI p. 522]

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## 141 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE WESTERN PRONOMINALIZED HIMALAYAN LANGUAGES

| *English* | *Kanaw$^{a}$rī* (Bashahr) | *Manchaṭī* (Lahul) | *Chaudangsī* (Almora) |
|---|---|---|---|
| one | id | idī | tig |
| two | nish | juṭ | nis |
| three | shum | shumu | sum |
| four | pü | pī | pī |
| hand | gud | guṛ | lā |
| foot | bang | kondza | lakī |
| head | bal | pundza | pisyā |
| a father | bṓbā | ibā | udībā ; tigbā |
| of a father | bṓbā́-ū | ibā-u | udī bā-g |
| to a father | bṓbā́-ū | i bā-bi | udī bā-mag ; udī bā-jā |
| two fathers | nish bṓbā ; nish bōbā́n | juṭ bā | nisi bā |
| I am | g$^{a}$ to-g | gye shu-ga | ji lhē |
| thou art | ka to-n ; ki ton-y | kā shu-na | gan lhēn |
| he is | do to ; do tosh | du shu-t' | vō lhē |
| we are | níshī, ningā́n toch ; ká shang, kíshang tón mē | ngye-re shu-ni | in lhē-nē |
| you are | kí shī, kinā́n, toch (tony) | kye-re shu-ni | ganī lhē-nī |
| they are | dṓsung, dógon, tō (tosh) | do-re shu-re | usī lhē-nē |
| I was | ga tṓkē-g, tē-g, tots | gye to-i-ga | jī nīyēs |
| thou wast | ka tṓkē-n, tē-n, tots | ka to-i-na | gan niyan-s |

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| *English* | *Kanāw$^{a}$rī* (Bashahr) | *Manchaṭī* (Lahul) | *Chaudāngsī* (Almora) |
|---|---|---|---|
| he was | do toch, tṓ-kē, tots, tēsh, tṓkēsh | do to-i | ū nī-s |
| we were | níshī (ningán) tṓkēch, tēch, tots ; káshang (kíshang) tṓkē, tē, tots | ngye-re to-i-ni | in ninhēs |
| you were | kíshī (kinán) tṓkech, tēch, tots | kye-re to-i-ni | ganī ninhēs |
| they were | dṓsung (dógon) toch, tṓkē, toto, etc. | do-re to-i-re | usī ninhēs |
| I shall be | g$^{a}$ hach-og | gye shu-og | jī lhyāng |
| I beat | g$^{a}$-s tóng-ō-to-g | gye teng-dza-tag | ji-s sai-tū |
| thou beatest | ka-s tóng ō-to-n ; kis tóng -ō-tony | kai teng-dza ta -n | ga-s sai-ta-n |
| he beats | do-s tóng-ō-to | doi teng-dzak' | u-s sai-tā |
| we beat | ningán-s tóng-ō-toch ; kíshang -stongō-tónmē | ngye-tsi teng-dza ta-ni | in-s sai-ta-nē |
| you beat | kinán-s tóng-ō-toch | kye-tsi teng -dza ta-ni | ganī-sē sē-ta-nē |
| they beat | dógan-s tóngo-o-to | do-tsi teng-dza-to-re | usī-s sai-ta -nē |
| I beat (past) | g$^{a}$-s tóng-ig | gye teng-nga te-g | ji-s sēgas |

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| *English* | *Kanāw$^{a}$rī* (Bashahr) | *Manchaṭī* (Lahul) | *Chaudāngsī* (Almora) |
|---|---|---|---|
| thou beatest (past) | ka-s tóng-in | ka-i teng-nga te-n | gasai sē-n-s |
| he beat (past) | do-s tóng-ā | do-i teng-nga tek' | usai sē-s |
| we beat (past) | ningáns tóng-ich ; kíshangs-tóng-yē | ngyetsi teng-nga ten | in-sa sē-nē-s |
| you beat (past) | kinán-s tóng-ich | kye-tsi teng-nga ten | ganī-sai sē-nī-s |
| they beat (past) | dó-gons-tóng-ā | dotsi teng-nga ten | usī-sai sē-nē-s |
| I shall beat | g$^{a}$-s tóng-tog ; g$^{a}$s tóng-chōg ; g$^{a}$tóng-shog | gye teng-mo-g | ji-s sai-yāng |

[LSI pp. 532-567]

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## NORTH ASSAM GROUP

142 The mountainous region between the Assam Valley and Tibet, from Bhutan in the west to the Brahmputra in the east, is inhabited by a series of tribes which all speak Tibeto-Burman languages. Beginning from the west, they are the Akas, the Daflās, the Abor-Miris, and the Mishmis. The dialects spoken by these tribes comprise the North Assam Group.

This group is not a well defined philological group with salient grammatical features distinguishing it from other Tibeto-Burman forms of speech.

The Abor-Miris and the Daflās speak dialects which are so closely related that they can justly be considered as one and the same form of speech.

Under the influence of strange and radical phonetical laws Aka has assumed a peculiar appearance, and it differs from the other dialects of the group in many details of grammar and also in vocabulary.

These dialects can roughly be described as Tibeto-Burman forms of speech intermediary between Tibetan and the dialects spoken in Assam and Further India

The old prefixes are still to a great extent independent syllables and have not been fused into one sound with the ensuing base.

Miri and Mishmi are said to possess tones. We do not know if the same is the case in Aka or Daflā. The use of an elaborate system of tones in at least some of these dialects is a point of agreement with Central Tibetan, Central Nāgā, and Kachin.

These dialects agree with most typical Indo-Chinese languages in the principles regulating the conjugation of verbs. The verb is virtually a noun, and it does not differ from person or number.

There are, however, some minor points in which the North Assam dialects agree with the Himalayan forms of speech. The

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home of the North Assam tribes may be considered as a kind of back water. The eddies of the various waves of Tibeto-Burman immigration have swept over it and left their stamp on the dialects. [LSI pp. 568-572]

## AKA OR HRUSSO

143 The Akas occupy the hills to the north of the Assam Valley, between Bhutan in the west and the Daflā hills in the east.

The materials available for giving a grammatical sketch of the dialect are not satisfactory. [LSI p. 573]

*Articles.* There are no articles. The numeral *ā*, 'one' is used as an indefinite article ; thus, *nü-na ā*, 'a man' or *a-bā* is sometimes used in the same way ; thus, *phu-grā a-bā*, 'a horse'. [LSI p. 575]

*Nouns : Gender.* Gender is only apparent in the case of animate beings. Different words are frequently used in order to distinguish the gender of human beings. Thus, *āu*, 'father', *ā-ni*, 'mother'. *-U* and *-mi* are used as suffixes in order to distinguish the gender ; thus, *san*, 'son' ; *sā-mi* or *sām*, 'daughter'. The usual prefixes for distinguishing the gender of animals are *bū*, 'male', and *nī*, 'female' to which *em*, *âm* or *um* is often prefixed ; thus, *ā-shā-em bū*, 'cat male' ; *ā-shā em-nī*, 'cat female'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, singular and plural. The plural, when necessary, is denoted by means of numerals or by adding some word conveying the idea of multitude and also by plural pronouns, such as *de ā-nye*, and *annia* ; thus, *āu a-nye*, 'fathers' ; *sitchù hâ-nā*, 'tiger those, tigers'.

*Case.* The subject and the direct and indirect object are not, as a rule, marked by the addition of any suffix. An *-i* or *-e* is, however, often added. Thus, *se-e hānya*, 'that what, what is that ?'

The genitive is often expressed by simply putting the governed before the governing noun ; thus, *fu-grā gro dsimie*, 'horse white saddle, the saddle of the white-horse'. [LSI pp. 575-577]

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*Adjectives.* Adjectives are often followed by a suffix which is written *-zā*, *-sā* and *-sen* ; thus, *e-mī-zā*, 'thin'. Adjectives usually follow, but occasionally also precede the noun they qualify ; thus, *nü-na ū*, 'a good man' ; *ū nü-nā*, 'good men'. [LSI p. 577]

*Numerals.* The numerals follow the noun they qualify. They are not combined with generic particles. The higher numerals are formed by prefixing the multiplier to the numeral 'ten'. Thus, *dzù-rù*, 'thirty'. [LSI p. 577]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *nyâ* or *nâ* ; for 'thou' is *ba* ; and for 'he, she, it' is *e* or *i*. The personal pronoun of the third person is originally a demonstrative pronoun, and other demonstratives, such as, *fö* and *hâ* may be used in the same way.

There are no relative pronouns. Relative participles are formed by adding the suffix *-na* ; thus, *kheri-seu-na san*, 'younger-being son, the son who was youngest'. [LSI pp. 577-578]

*Verbs.* Verbs do not change for gender, number, and person. The usual verb substantive is *du*, *dâ* or *dā*. This verb is used as an auxiliary verb.

For the present tense the root alone is often used without any suffix. Thus, *chhi khu-gù riù*, 'fish water-in live, fishes live in the water'. A suffix *-bī*, *-be* or *-buch*, i.e., probably *-bū* is often used in the present tense. Thus, *ba khā-buch*, 'thou goest'.

There is no marked difference between the present and past time. The root alone is also used to denote the past ; thus, *e nâ shiù*, i.e. *shü*, 'him, I struck'. Suffix *-bi* is very often used in the past tense ; *nâ nā-i khu me ji-m-bie*, 'I them-to water some gave'.

The suffix of the future is *-nie* or *nye*, also written *-nyā*. Thus, *nâ gü-nie*, 'I shall strike'. *Ne* is often used instead. Another suffix of the future is *-ve* ; thus, *chha-veh*, 'I will say'.

The root alone is used as an imperative. Thus, *khu-niù dī*, quickly come. A prefix *bi-*, *be-*, *bü-* or *ve-* occurs in several forms ; thus, *bi-di-bī*, 'go'.

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*Passive voice.* There is no passive voice but passive sense is expressed by participles and verbs substantive. *Nah gi-dah*, i.e., *nâ gü-dā*, 'I am struck', literally means 'my striking is'.

[LSI pp. 578-581]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. [LSI p. 581].

## ABOR-MIRI AND DAFLĀ

144 Abor, Miri, and Dafiā are Assamese names for a tribe which inhabits the mountains between the Assam Valley and Tibet. Many of them, especially the Miris, are settled in Lakhimpur, Sibsagar, and Darrang.

The Abors occupy the mountains to the north of Sadiya about the Dihang and Dibang rivers. They are apparently a numerous tribe. The Abor dialect is almost identical with Miri.

The Miris occupy the hills to the west of Abors. They were pushed down in the Assam Valley by the Abors, and are believed to have been slaves to that tribe.

The Daflās occupy the hills to the west of the Miris. They are sub-divided into numerous clans, and several dialects seem to exist. The western form of speech is apparently widely different from that used in the east. The dialects spoken by the Miris and the Daflās are so closely connected that they may be considered as one and the same language. Therefore a combined grammatical sketch of both the dialects is being given. [LSI pp. 584-586]

*Pronunciation.* Miri and Daflā abound in vowels. Thus we find *a*, *e*, *i*, *o*, and *u*, short and long, and besides there is *â* (as in English 'all'), and *ü* (as in German 'Mühe'). Miri also seems to possess the vowel *ö* (as in German 'schön'). Thus, *gâg-lā*, calling, *ü-lyam*, 'on coming' ; *in-kwö*, 'he says'.

There are often interchanges between long and short vowels. Thus we find, Miri, *ma-ta* and *mā-tā*, 'search'. The pronunciation of vowels is apparently sometimes, especially in unaccented syllables, rather indistinct, and there are several instances of interchange between different vowels. Many of these changes are apparently the result of a kind of Sandhi.

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Miri is said to abound in tones, but no attempt has been made to describe them. [LSI pp. 586-589]

*Articles.* There are no articles. The numeral 'one' is often used as an indefinite article. Thus, Miri *ā-mā ā-kâ*, 'a man'; Daflā, *beny ākkin-gâ*, 'a stick'.

Relative clauses and demonstrative pronouns are used in order to convey the idea of definiteness. [LSI p. 590]

*Nouns: Gender.* Gender is only apparent in the case of animate beings. The gender of human beings is distinguished by using different words or by adding suffixes. The usual suffixes are *-bō*, 'male' and *-mō*, *-ma* and *-ne*, 'female' in Miri, and *-pa* or *-ba*, 'male', and *-ma* and *-na*, 'female' in Daflā. The gender in animals is distinguished by means of suffixes, before which the noun or its last syllable is repeated. The prefixed syllable is essentially a part of noun. Thus, Miri, *ē-kī kī-bâ*, 'a dog'; *ē-kī kī-a*, 'a bitch'; Daflā, *ī-kī kī-b*, 'a dog'; *i-kī kī-n*, 'a bitch'.

*Number.* When it is necessary to denote the number of a noun, and no numeral is added, some word meaning 'many', 'all', and so on is added. The usual word in Miri is *ki-ding*, and in Daflā, *tūllūē*, *malūhēr*, *e-dē*, etc., all meaning 'many', 'all'.

*Case.* The various functions which a noun performs in a sentence are usually indicated by means of postpositions.

The nominative is the case of the subject. There is apparently no difference whether the verb is transitive or intransitive. It does not take any suffix. The accusative is the case of the object. It is often especially in the case of inanimate nouns, formed without any suffix. The usual suffix is *-em* in Miri and *-am* in Daflā, used to denote not only the direct object, but also the indirect one with verbs meaning 'to give', 'to say', and so on. Thus, Miri *ngâ-ka attăr kō sāg-em bī-kī*, 'my property of share give, give me my share of the property'; Daflā *tab-a nyī-am-chē-lyām*, 'snake man biting, if a snake bites a man.' The genitive is often expressed by putting the governed before the governing noun, without any suffix. Thus, Miri *dâ-lūng ā-mī*, 'village-of men, the men of the village'; Daflā *nyī ūi*, 'man's blood'.

[LSI pp. 590-592]

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*Adjectives.* There is no real difference between adjectives and verbs. When used in order to qualify a noun, the adjectives take the form of relative participles, the suffix *-na* being added. Another suffix *-bâ* or *-pâ* is often added. Sometimes however, no suffix is added. Adjectives sometimes precede and sometimes follow the noun they qualify.

The suffix of the comparative is *yā*, and the compared noun precedes in the accusative. The superlative is expressed by comparing with 'all'. Thus, Miri, *ā-pui-lok ai-yā*, 'all-from good-more, best' ; *pāng-au-yā*, 'all-than higher, highest'.

[LSI p. 593]

*Numerals.* Higher numbers are formed by suffixing the multiplier to the numeral 'ten'. Thus, Miri, *ē-ing ā-ūm-kâ*, 'ten three, thirty'. In Daflā the ordinary word for 'ten' is not used in this way but a word *chom*, corresponding to *shom* in Lushēi and connected languages is used ; thus, *chom-um-kâ*, 'thirty'.

The numerals are usually preceded by generic prefixes. There are often words with a meaning of their own. Thus, in Miri *ā-pui pui keng-gâ*, Daflā *püp pü-kr-gâ*, 'eggs six'.

[LSI pp. 593-594]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' in Miri, and Daflā is *ngâ* ; for 'thou' is *nâ* ; and for 'he, she', *bui* in Miri, and *ma* in Daflā.

There are no relative pronouns. Relative participles are used instead, and a demonstrative pronoun is often added as a kind of co-relative.

[LSI pp. 595-596]

*Verbs.* Verbs do not vary for gender, number, or person. The different tenses are formed by adding suffixes. The usual verb substantive is *dūng* in Miri and *dōng* or *dâ* in Daflā. This verb is commonly added to other verbs as a kind of auxiliary.

The present tense is formed by adding the verb substantive to the root. Thus, Miri *ngâ kā-dūng* or *kā-dâ*, 'I see' ; Daflā, *ngâ kā-pā-dâ*, 'I happen to see'.

The suffixes used in Miri and Daflā to form the past tense differ widely. In Miri, the present tense is sometimes used to denote the past. The usual suffix of the past tense is *-tō*. The

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suffix *-ai* is often added, and *-tō* is then changed to *-tū*. Thus, *ngâ-dâ-tū-ai*, 'I ate'. In Daflā, the most usual suffix of the past tense is *-nma*, *-nam-ma*, or *-nemma*. Thus, *ngâ kā-nma*, 'I saw'. *-t* and *-p* are sometimes inserted before the suffix *-nma*. Thus, *ngâ lyī-t-namma*, 'I have worked'. In Miri the usual suffixes of the future time are *-yē*, *-pü*, and *-yē-pü*; thus, *pō-dōng ō-yē*, 'rainfall-will'. In Daflā the suffix of the future is *ne-pū*, *na-pū*, or *n-pü*, i.e., *pü* added to *na* or *ne*. Thus, *ngâ kā-il-ne-pū*, 'I will see'.

Different kinds of adverbial participles are formed by adding post-positions to the verbal noun.

There is no passive voice. 'I am struck' must be translated 'somebody struck me'.

Compound words are freely formed in order to modify the meaning. Thus, Miri, *gī-ā*, 'to-go-enter, to come'; Daflā, *nā-len*, 'to take-come-out'.

Causals are formed by suffixing the verb 'to do', Miri *-mō*, Daflā *-ma* or *-m*. Thus, Miri *gē-mō-to-kā*, 'to-wear-cause', Daflā, *ū-m-tella*, 'to-go-caused, sent'. [LSI pp 596-602]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. The direct object precedes the indirect one in Miri, but follows it in Daflā. [LSI p. 602]

## MISHMI

145 The Mishmis inhabit the mountains lying north of the Assam Valley from the Dibang River in the west to about the Lama Valley or Dzayul, a sub-prefecture of Lhassa, in the east. The Mishmi villages to the south of the Brahamputra are scattered and mixed up with Khāmtī and Singphō settlements. To the north and west we find the tribe in possession of the whole country.

There are four main divisions of the Mishmis, each sub-divided into numerous minor clans. The four divisions are Chulikātā, Bebejiya, Digāru, and Mījū. They speak separate dialects, which excepting Behejiya, which is almost identical with Chulikātā, are described in the following pages. [LSI pp. 613-614]

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## CHULIKĀTĀ

**146** The Chulikātā Mishmis are settled on both banks of the Dibang River, and to the east of it, so far as Digāru River. They are the most numerous tribe of the Mishmis. Their dialect is apparently closely related to Digāru Mishmis. The material available is not sufficient to give a complete grammatical sketch.

*Nouns : Gender.* Suffixes are used to denote the sex. The male suffix is *-a-pi*, and the female suffix is *-kro*.

*Number.* The plural is formed by adding words meaning 'many', 'all', etc. [LSI pp. 614-615]

*Adjectives.* The adjectives seem to precede the noun they qualify. There is apparently no suffix of the comparative. Thus, *ruendo ji iruendo*, 'high from high, higher' ; *tapume ji ruendo*, 'all from high, highest'. [LSI p. 615]

*Numerals.* Higher numerals are formed as in Digāru by prefixing the multiplier to the numeral 'ten'. Thus, *a-ni-hush*, 'twenty'. [LSI p. 615]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *nga*, honorific, *ngia lumbro* ; for 'thou' is *nyâ* ; and for 'he' is *ngio āpu*, which seems to mean something like 'thy companion.' [LSI p. 615]

## DIGĀRU

**147** The Digārus are settled in the mountains between the Digāru River and the Brahmaputra.

*Nouns : Gender.* Gender is only apparent in the case of animate nouns. The gender in human beings is distinguished by using different words or by adding suffixes *mōwā*, 'male', and *mīyā*, 'female'. Thus, *mōwā ā*, 'male child, son' ; *mīyā ā* 'daughter'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. Where it is required to distinguish the number, a numeral or some word meaning 'all', 'many', etc. is added. Thus, *n'guī su-miwe*, 'dog all, dogs'.

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*Case.* The nominative and the accusative do not take any suffix. The genitive is expressed by putting the governed before the governing word ; thus, *mā-jī-rō*, 'the buffalo's horn'. Other relations are indicated by means of postpositions, [LSI p. 616]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives follow the noun they qualify. Thus, *mā-chī rūmā*, 'water deep'. There are no suffixes of the comparative. The adjective may get a prolonged or shortened pronunciation in order to denote a high or low degree. Thus, *kā-long*, 'long', may be pronounced with a lengthening out of the sound. It then means 'very long'. In a similar way *katyao*, 'short', may be pronounced with a short and abrupt sound in order to convey the idea of 'very short'. [LSI pp. 615-616]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *hā̃* or *hā* ; for 'thou' is *ngā̃* ; and for '*he*' is *hē*, *ē* or *m'tā*.

The possessive pronouns are the same as the personal ones. [LSI p. 617]

*Verbs.* Verbs do not vary for gender, number or person.

Base alone is used to form the past tense. Thus, *hā̃dī*, 'I sit'. The suffix of the past tense is *yā* or *a*. Thus, *hā̃ tai hing hānā-yā*, 'I to-day came, I came to-day'. The suffix of the future is *-n-dē*. Thus, *hā̃ Rīmā bo-n-dē*, 'I Rima go will, I am going to Rima'.

The root alone is used as a verbal noun. Thus, *m'tā teku bri no*, 'he rice to-buy wishes, he wants to buy rice'.

Compound verbs seem to be formed by simply putting two verbs together. [LSI pp. 617-618]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. [LSI p. 618]

## MĪJŪ

148 The Mejus or Mījūs are settled to the east of the Digārus and extend towards the Lama Valley or Dzayul, a sub-prefecture of Lhassa.

*Nouns : Gender.* The gender of human beings is distinguished by using different words, or by adding *ōwai*, 'male', and *ka-mai*,

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or *mai*, 'female'. Thus, *kī-pai*, father ; *kī-naũ*, 'mother' ; *mangrā rōwai*, 'a male slave' ; *mangrā ka-mai*, 'a female slave'.

*Number.* Number is, when necessary, indicated by adding a numeral or else some word meaning 'many', 'all', etc. Thus, *kwī grün*, 'dog eight, eight dogs' ; *klan ka-plak*, 'flower all, all the flowers'.

*Case.* The nominative and the accusative do not take any suffix. The genitive is expressed by simply putting the governed before the governing noun. Thus, *wā lāp*, 'bamboo leaf, the leaf of the bamboo'. Other relations are indicated by means of post-positions. [LSI p. 619]

*Adjectives.* The adjectives usually follow the noun they qualify. The comparative degree is expressed by simply putting the compared noun before the adjective. Thus, *kī ān ka-chong ka-shyung*, 'I this man lean, I am leaner than this man.' [LSI p. 619]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *kī* ; for 'thou' is *nyâ* or *nâ* ; and for 'he, she' is *wē*. [LSI p. 620]

*Verbs.* Verbs do not differ for gender, number and person.

The root alone is used in order to denote the present time ; thus, *kī ndat*, 'I call'. The usual suffixes of past-time are *-gā* and *-kong*. *Kong* is often used to denote a remote past, and may be translated as a perfect. Thus, *mang-ā-ni tē-chim ko-mō sāt-ga*, 'yesterday wild-hog one killed, yesterday I killed a wild hog'. The suffix of the future is *-yū* or *-yung* ; thus, *kishā-yū*, 'I will eat'.

The suffix of the imperative is *-shū*. Thus, *ton-zai-shū*, 'sing'. [LSI pp. 620-621]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. [LSI p. 621]

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## 149 LIST OF SELECT WORDS AND PHRASES IN THE DIALECTS OF THE NORTH ASSAM GROUP

| *English* | *Aka* | *Miri* | *Chulikata or Taying Mishmi* |
|---|---|---|---|
| one | a | ā-kå, ā-tēr-kå | ēkhē |
| two | kshi | ā nyī-kå | kāni |
| three | zu | āum-kå | kāsh |
| four | fi-ri | āpī-kå | kāppi |
| hand | pho, gsi | ā-lāk | akhmo |
| foot | shi | ā-lē | byāpā |
| head | khe | mit-tūk | eku, ekura |
| a father | āu | ābu | ēkhē nābā |
| of a father | āu-tī | abū-ka | ēkhē nabā juibo |
| to a father | āu-e | ābū-em | ēkhē-nāba ji |
| two fathers | āu-kshi | ābu ānyī-kå | kāni nabā |
| I am | nåh | ngå dūng | ngialūmbro laji ji |
| | du-chha | ~ dāk ~ då | |
| thou art | ba dw-cho-mā | nå dūng | ngio muji gā |
| he is | e du-chho | bui dūng | ngio āpu ji |
| we are | ni du-chho | ngå-tū dūng | ehund jigā |
| you are | jah du-cha-mā | nå-lū dūng | ehund jigñ ji |
| they are | na du-chha yā | bū-lū dūng | heaibu ia ji ji gā |
| I was | phu e-du-chun, nå du-sö | ngå dūngai ~ dāgai | ngialumbro igāpo |
| thou wast | jah-phu-du-chha-mā | nå dūngai | ngio jigya (? jigā) |
| he was | e du-me-re-deh | bui dūngai | ngio-āpu muji ji |
| we were | ni du-chan | ngå-lū dūngai | e hundna jigā |

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| you were | ba du-chana | nâ-lū dūngaî | ehundmu jigā |
| they were | na du-chu | bū-tū dūngai | heaibu mujigā |
| I shall be | nâ da-nie | × | ngialumbro kachna |
| I beat | nah gi-neh | ngâ pa-dūng | ngialumbro āhū lyāh |
| thou beatest | ba gü-eh | nâ pā-dūng | ngio āhū lyāh |
| he beats | e gi-da-eh | bui pā-dūng | ngio-āpu āhūlyāh |
| we beat | ni gi-neh | ngâ-lū pā-dūng | ehundna prālā |
| you beat | jah güeh | nâ-lū pā-dūng | ehund āhū lyāh |
| they beat | na gi-dā | bu-lū pā-dūng | heaibu āhū lyāh |
| I beat (past) | nga sheu | ngâ pā-tō | x |
| thou beatest (past) | ba sheu | nâ pā-tō | x |
| he beat (past) | is-da | bui pā-tō | x |
| we beat (past) | ni shing | ngâ-lū pā-tō | x |
| you beat (past) | jah ish-da | nâ-lū pā-tō | x |
| they beat (past) | nā ish-da | bū-lū pâ-tō | x |
| I shall beat | nah si-ne | ngâ pā-yē (or pā-pü) | x |

[LSI pp. 622-641]

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# VOL. III, PART II

## TIBETO-BURMAN FAMILY

## BODO, NĀGĀ, AND KACHIN GROUPS

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## THE BÂṚÂ OR BODO GROUP

150 The Bâṛâ or Bodo Group comprises the language spoken by the Mech and Kachārīs and the cognate languages spoken by the other tribes, viz., Rābhā, Lālung, Dīmā-sā, Gārō, Tipurā and Chutiyā, in certain districts of Assam, such as, Kamrup, Sibsagar, Lakhimpur and Darrang. Bodo or Bâṛâ is the name by which the Mech or Mes and the Kachārīs call themselves. These languages are agglutinative in character and have learned inflexion by coming into contact with the speech of Aryan people. Their agglutinative verb can be modified by the insertion of 'infixes' and these infixes are a device by means of which the work of adverbs and adjectives is done, often with a very picturesque effect, lending itself to a vivid narrative style which can only be realised by hearing the stress and modulation used in dealing with long agglutinative verbs.

These languages have vocabularies which are evidently closely related, and their grammars have also a number of special points in common. [LSI pp. 1-4]

### BÂṚÂ BODO OR PLAINS KACHĀRĪ

151 The speakers of the dialect are mostly concentrated in the three central districts of the Assam Valley, viz., Darrang, Nowgong and Kamrup. The standard form of the dialect may be taken as that of Darrang. [LSI pp. 5-6]

*Vocabulary* All the dialects of Bâṛâ borrow words freely from the Aryan languages, Bengali or Assamese, with which they are brought in immediate contact. Words so adopted frequently suffer considerable corruption in the process of borrowing. [LSI p. 7]

*Pronunciation.* *ă* is pronounced as in 'pan'; *aa* as a prolonged *a*; *e* as in 'bed'; *è* as intermediate sound between *ē* and *e*.

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*t* and *d* are always semi-cerebral as in English, except in words borrowed direct from Sanskrit. [LSI p. 16]

*Nouns : Gender.* Inanimate objects have no gender ; that of animate objects is denoted by a qualifying word placed after the noun, the particular word used varying according to the class of objects referred to. Thus, in the case of human beings, *hōā*, 'male' ; *hingzhāu*, 'female' ; in the case of birds, *z$^{a}$lā*, 'male', *zŭ*, 'female', and so on.

*Number.* There are two numbers, singular and plural. The plural is denoted by the postposition *fŭr* or *frā*.

*Case.* The case is denoted by affixes which are added to the nominative form, the only modification being the occasional insertion of an euphonic *i* between the stem and the termination. [LSI p. 16]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives sometimes precede, but usually follow, the noun they qualify. They do not change with the noun they qualify.

*Numerals.* The numerals only run up to ten, higher numbers being expressed by the use of the word *zakhai* meaning 'a group of four'. Thus fifteen is three groups of four, plus three. [LSI p. 16]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *āng* ; for 'thou' is *nang*, and for 'he, she, it' is *bi*. Pronominal prefixes of possession are commonly added to nouns expressing relationship. Thus, *ā ng-ni ā-fā*, 'my father'. [LSI p. 16]

*Verbs.* The imperative is the simplest form of the verb. The different tenses are denoted by affixes, which remain unchanged for all persons, numbers and genders. Thus, *āng nu-i-ŭ*, 'I see' ; *āng-bai*, 'I saw', *āng-gan*, 'I shall see'. Potentiality is expressed by the use of the infinitive with the auxiliary verb *hā-nū*, 'to be able'. The past participle is frequently used as a noun, and in such cases is declined as such.

*Passive voice.* The passive is formed by conjugating *zāa-nū*, 'to be', 'become', with the past participle of the principal verb. Thus, *āng u-nai zāa-i-ŭ*, 'I am seen'. [LSI p. 17]

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## MES OR MECH

152 The people who speak this dialect call themselves Mes, which is usually written as Mech, when writing in the Assamese alphabet. Mech may be treated as a dialect very nearly related to the standard dialect of Darrang.

Mech speakers are found in Goalpara and Jalpaiguri districts of Assam and Bengal, respectively, and in Cooch Behar.

Taking the Goalpara form of speech as the typical one, the following are the main points of difference between it and the standard dialect of Darrang. [LSI p. 36]

*Pronunciation.* Darrang *a* and *u* become *o* in Goalpara dialect. Thus, Darrang *dang*, 'is', becomes *dong ; ukhŭi*, 'to be hungry', becomes *ukhoi*. [LSI pp. 36-37]

*Pronouns.* The third person singular has a nominative *bī-ō*. The reflexive pronoun is *gāo*, 'self', which in Darrang is *gāgai* or *gaigai*. [LSI p. 37]

*Verbs.* Past tense is commonly formed by adding-*āsoi* to the root. Before this a euphonic -*i*- is inserted when the root ends in the vowel. Thus, *bung-āsoi*, 'he said' ; *jā-i-āsoi*, 'he became'. [LSI p. 37]

## BÂṚÂ, MES OF JALPAIGURI

153 The language of Bodos of Jalpaiguri closely resembles the Mech of Goalpara. The following are the main points of difference. [LSI p. 40]

*Vocabulary.* The vocabulary is much more full of Bengali words. The influence of Bengali is specially manifest in the spelling. The typical Bengali *sh* is very common, and the tendency to aspirate tenues is not observable. Thus 'sin' is *pāp*, not *faf*. [LSI p. 40]

*Pronouns.* The suffix -*o* is used not only with *bi*, but also with *āng* and *nung*. It is used with the nominative plural



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as well as with the nominative singular, so that we have *jung-ō*, 'we' and *bi-sor-ō*, 'they'. The plural of the first person is *jung*, not *jong*. [LSI pp. 40-41]

*Verbs.* There is a tendency to inflexion in the present tense. The future has several forms, none of them agreeing with the standard. Thus, *ang-shu-nai*, 'I shall strike' ; *thāng nai*, 'will go'. [LSI p. 41]

## LĀLUNG

**154** Lālung is spoken in a portion of the south-west corner of the district of Nowgong and in the adjoining tracts of Kamrup and the Khasi and Jaintia Hills. The language is most closely connected with Hōjai and Dimā-sā, and only presents a family resemblance to Bâṛâ. [LSI p. 49]

Sufficient materials are not available for the compilation of a complete Lālung grammar, but the following has been gathered from the specimens, and its correctness depends upon the accuracy with which they have been recorded. [LSI p. 50]

*Nouns : Number.* The plural is formed by adding *-rau* or *-ru*. Cf. Dīmā-sā, *-rao*.

*Case.* The suffix of the accusative-dative is *-ga*, as in *chākar-ga chāng-māti*, 'having called a servant'. The termination of genitive is *-nē*, as in *bē-nē*, 'of him'. For the ablative, *-pērā*, is added to the genitive ; as in *chā-nē-pērā*, 'from whom'. [LSI p. 50]

*Pronoun.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *āng* ; for 'thou' is *nā* ; and for 'he' is *bē*. The Assamese relative pronoun is used. [LSI p. 50]

*Verbs.* The verb substantive is *hangya*, 'am, is' and *thai-dang* or *dangya-man*, 'was'. The present tense is formed by the suffix *-ya*, which after *ā* becomes *o*. The present definite is formed by the suffix *-dang*, as *thai-dang*, 'is becoming'. The termination of the future is *-ang*, as in *bathāl-ang*, 'will strike'. The termination of the past as also of the perfect is *-gāng*, as in *gadar-gāng*, '(I) walked'.

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Causal verbs are formed as in Bâṛâ, - the verb *as*, 'to give', being appended to the main verb. Thus, *gān-as*, 'cause to wear'. [LSI pp. 50-51]

## DĪMĀ-SĀ OR HILLS KACHĀRĪ

155 This language is spoken in the hilly northern region of Cachar district. The speakers of this language call themselves as Dīmā-sā.

Dīmā-sā cannot be considered as a dialect of Bâṛâ, as has been done so for, because both possessing the peculiarities of the languages of Bâṛâ group, differ very much in many respects.

Dīmā-sā has one dialect Hōjai, spoken in south-west of the district of Nowgong. [LSI p. 56]

The information available obout the Dīmā-sā grammar is sketchy.

*Nouns : Number.* The plural is formed by the suffix *-rao*.

*Case.* The case suffixes are added to the nominative, which remains unchanged. [LSI p. 57]

*Numerals.* As in other Bodo languages, generic perfixes are used with the numerals. For non-rational animate objects in general, and when the numerals are used alone in counting, the prefix is *mā-*. Thus, *shīsha mā-shi*, 'one dog', *mā-shi*, 'one'. For human beings the prefix is *shao-*, for inanimate objects is *gārāng-*, but for the objects of the vegetable kingdom, *fāng-* is used, as in *bongfāng fāng-ji*, 'ten trees'. [LSI p. 57]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *ang*, for 'thou' is *ning*, and for 'he' is *-bō*.

There appear to be pronominal prefixes in use. In the word *bu-fa*, 'a father', *bu* originally meant 'his' and the word meant 'his father', but the special meaning of 'his' has been lost now. This tendency is common in languages, using the method of prefixing pronouns towards of relationship. (cf. Burushaskī, VIII. ii. 552). [LSI p. 58]

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*Verbs.* The verb substantive is *dōng* or *dao*, 'is' or *dōng-kā*, 'was'. The present is formed by suffixing *-rē* to the base ; thus, *ang snū-rē*, 'I strike'. The future by suffixing *-mā* ; thus, *ang shū-mā*, 'I shall strike', and the past by suffixing *-bā* ; thus, *ang shū-bā*, 'I struck, I was striking'. For imperative the base alone is used ; thus, *shū*, 'strike'.

Causal verbs are formed, as in Bâṛâ, by adding the root *-rī* meaning 'to give', to the main verb. Thus, *jī-rī-mā*, 'to give to eat'. [LSI pp. 58-59]

## HŌJAI

**156** This dialect is spoken in the south-west of Nowgong District, between the area in which Lālung and Dīmā-sā are spoken. It is clearly a dialect of Dīmā-sā.

The following is the imperfect account of the grammar of the dialect based on the material available. [LSI p. 62]

*Pronunciation.* There is a regular tendency to aspirate tenues. Thus, the Dīmā-sā, *ti*, 'die', becomes Hōjai *thēi*.

*Nouns : Number.* The plural is formed by the suffixes *-puthu*, *-ēra*, or *-ērāo*.

*Case.* The case suffixes are added to the nominative which remains unchanged. [LSI p. 62]

*Numerals.* Numerals, as usual, take generic prefixes. For human being, both *shā-* and *mā-* are used. *mā-* is also used in counting and for animals generally. [LSI p. 62]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *āng*, for 'thou' is nung, and for 'he' is *pu*.

Pronominal prefixes occur in the dialect ; thus, *nā-fā*, 'your father' ; *pu-fuang*, 'his brother'. [LSI p. 63]

*Verbs.* The verb substantive is *dang*, 'am, is, are'. The present tense is formed by suffixing *-rē* ; thus, *mai-rē*, 'gets'. The future is formed by adding *-nang* ; thus, *thēi-nāng*, 'will say'. The past is formed by adding *-khā*, and *-bā* ; thus *thēi-khā*, 'said' ; *naikhā-bā*, 'wished'.

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Causal verbs, as usual, are formed by adding the root, 'to give', as in *ji-ri*, 'to give to eat'. [LSI pp. 63-64]

## GĀRŌ OR MĀNDĒ KUSIK

157 Gārō is spoken principally by the inhabitants of the Garo hills and also in the plains at their feet, viz, the districts of Kamrup, Goalpara, the State of Cooch Behar, the districts of Jalpaiguri, Mymensingh and Dacca.

The Gārōs call their language, 'Māndē Kusik', i.e., the language of the men, or 'Āchik Kusik', i.e., the language of the hill men.

Besides the standard dialect Āchik, many other dialects, with certain variations are spoken by the Gārō people. The main dialects are Ābeng, Āwi, Ātong, Chibok, Rugā and Dālu. The Ātong or Kuchu dialect presents the greatest variation. The grammatical sketch of the standard dialect, Āchik, is given below. [LSI pp. 68-69]

*Pronunciation.* The Gārō *o* has the sound *o* in 'song'. *Ō* has the sound of the second *o* in 'promote'. *U* has the sound of *u* in 'full'. It is never pronounced long, as in 'rule'. *Ng* is pronounced as in 'song'. An apostrophe in the middle or at the end of the word indicates a jerky, staccato utterance of the preceding syllable. In Eastern Indo-Chinese languages, it is known as the abrupt tone.

There are no aspirated consonants. *S* has many fluctuating variants, sometimes slightly approaching a *sh*. [LSI p. 71]

*Nouns : Gender.* There is no grammatical gender. Sex is indicated by special words in the case of human beings, and by adding words for 'male' and 'female' in the case of the lower animals.

*Number.* Plurality is indicated by adding a noun of multitude, usually *rāng*, 'all'.

*Case.* The declension is by suffixes, which are added to the base without causing any euphonic change. When an adjective follows a noun, the suffixes are added to it, and not to the noun, [LSI p. 71]

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*Adjectives.* Adjectives usually follow the noun they qualify. They do not change for gender. The suffixes denoting case are placed after the adjective. Thus, *māndē nāmja*, 'a bad man'. Comparison is expressed by the dative case to which is added some word meaning 'than'. The superlative degree is formed by the use of the word signifying 'all' and the word 'than' affixed to the adjective. [LSI p. 71]

*Numerals.* The numerals are always used with generic nouns, thus, *sāk-* is used when human beings are counted, *gē-* when inanimate things are counted, *māng-* when animals are counted, and *bol-* when trees are counted. Thus, *māndē sāk-gni*, 'two men'. [LSI p. 71]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns for 'I' is *āngā* ; for thou is *nā'ā* ; and for 'he' is *uā*. Some of the personal pronouns change their form before case suffixes. Thus, *āngā* becomes *āng* as in *āng-ni*, 'my'. [LSI p. 71]

*Verbs.* The verbs substantive are *dong* and *gnāng* which mean 'to exist' and *ong*, 'to be' (a copula). The various ideas connected by mood and tense are indicated by suffixes. The suffix of the present tense is *-ā ;* thus, *āngā dok -ā*, 'I beat'. The past tense is formed by many suffixes, such as, *-ā -hā*, *-jok*, *-ā -chim*, *-ōm ;* thus, *āngā dok-ā-hā*, 'I beat'. The future is formed by suffixing *-gen*, *-nim ;* thus, *āngā dok -nim*, 'I shall beat'.

The passive verb is formed by adding *ā-kō mān*, 'to the root', as *āngā dok -ā -kō mān' -ā*, 'I am beaten'.

An almost limitless number of particles may be used to express manner, degree, or character of the action, actor, or object acted upon, by placing the particle after the verbal root. Thus, *nik-bē-āhā* '(he) saw intensely' ; *nik-tok-jok*, '(he) saw all or all saw', according to context. [LSI pp. 71-73]

## GĀRŌ OF COOCH BEHAR AND JALPAIGURI

158 The Gārō language of these two districts differs widely from that of Kamrup and the Garo Hills. This language is much mixed with Bengali. Putting the numerous importations of Bengali to one side the vocabulary has many points of variance, and the

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differences of grammar are so great as almost to entitle this form of speech to be called a separate language. It is, however, a corrupt jargon than a true dialect.

The main points of divergence from the standard dialect are given below :

*Nouns.* The termination *-uō* is commonly used in Jalpaiguri for the dative and accusative. The termination of the ablative is *-ni-pri* in the same district.

The plural is formed by adding *-dōā* or *dō*. [LSI p. 89]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun (s) for 'I' is *āng*, for 'thou' are *nāng*, *nung*, and for 'he' are *u*, *ūon*.

The Bengali relative pronoun *jē* is of very frequent occurrence. [LSI p. 89]

*Verbs.* The verb substantive is *dōā* or *tōā* 'is', and *tōā* or *tōy-tōā*, 'was'. However, there are several other forms. Thus, *sai-au*, *sai-tōā*, and *sai-ā*, 'was'.

The present tense seems to show signs of inflection. Thus, we have *tōng-ā*, 'I strike'; *tōk*, 'thou or he strikes'. The suffix of the future tense is *-nā* ; thus, *bōr-nā*, 'I will say'.

The usual termination of the past tense is *-au*, thus, *loā-au*, 'he gave'. Another common termination is *-tānā* ; thus, *fai-tānā*, 'he came'. [LSI pp. 89-90]

## KŌCH DIALECT

159 The name Kōch connotes a Hinduised Bodo, who has abandoned his ancestral religion for Hinduism and the ancestral Bodo language for Bengali and Assamese. There is, however, in Dacca, the Garo Hills and Goalpara, a small body of people in six sections who are known as Kōch or Pāni Kōch, and who still speak a language belonging to the Bodo group, and are either animistic or nominal Hindus. [LSI pp. 95-96]

The following is a brief account of the main peculiarities of this Kōch dialect.

*Nouns.* The suffix of the plural is *-tang*. [LSI p. 97]

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*Case.* The declension is by suffixes, which are added to the base.

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *āngā*, for 'thou' *nãā*, and for 'he' is *uā*. [LSI p. 97]

*Verbs.* The verb substantive is usually *dong*, but sometimes *hong* is used. The suffix of the present tense is *-ā* ; of past tense is *-ning*, *-jok*, *-ai-ā* ; and of future is *-gān* The causal verb is formed by suffixing the root *-hon*, 'give', to the conjunctive participle, as in *fatai-hon*, 'cause to wear, put on'. [LSI p. 97]

## TINTEKIYĀ OF GOALPARA

**160** The speakers of the dialect are settled at the foot of the Garo Hills. Their language is a corrupt form of Gārō, mixed with Bengali words. The Gārō portion of the specimen agrees in many respects with Ātong, and with the form of Gārō spoken in Jalpaiguri and Cooch Behar. The following are the chief features of its grammar :

The suffix of the plural is *-rong*. That of the accusative-dative is *-nā*, and of the genitive is *-ni*.

The personal pronoun for 'I' is *āng* ; for 'thou' is *nāng* ; for 'he' is *u*.

The verb substantive is *tōā* or *tong*, 'is' ; the past is *tōā* (cf. Cooch Behar §158) or *tong-to*. The suffix of the present is *-trā* ; that of past *-jok* or *-tō*, and of the future *-inā*. [LSI p. 100]

## RĀBHĀ

**161** The language is spoken by Rābhās in Goalpara, Kamrup and Garo Hills. Two dialects of it have been reported, viz., Rāngdāniā and Maitariā or Matrai. This language is fast dying out. The Rābhās have, as a rule, abandoned their tribal dialect in favour of Assamese. The Maitariā Rābhās are probably the purest specimen of the race ; they bear a close resemblance both to the Gārō and Pani Kōch, both in their dialect and in their manners and customs. [LSI p. 102]

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The following sketch of Rāngdāniā would show points of resemblance with the Ātong dialect of Gārō of Cooch Behar and Jalpaiguri, and with the Tintekiyā Kōch of Goalpara.

*Nouns*: *Number*. The plural suffix is *-tāng*, as in *bāk-tāng*, 'swine'. In the pronouns *-rang* is used. [LSI p. 103]

*Case*. The declension is by suffixes, which are added to the base.

The ablative is formed by adding *-pārā* to the genitive, as in, *jānbai- ni -pārā*, 'from a distance'. These suffixes are capable of combination. Common is *-i -nā*, 'in to' hence, 'towards,' as in *sang-i-nā* 'towards a village', hence, as a dative of motion, 'to a village'. [LSI p. 103]

*Adjectives*. As in other Bodo languages, numerals take generic prefixes. These prefixes change according to the numeral to which they are prefixed. Thus, for clothes, *khō-sā*, 'one', *khuning*, 'two', *khun-thām*, 'three'. [LSI p. 103]

*Pronouns* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *āng*; for 'thou' is, *nāng*; for 'he' is *ō*. For the relative pronoun, the Bengali *ji* is used. [LSI pp. 103-104]

*Verbs*. The present tense is formed by suffixing *-ĕtā*, *-tā*; thus, *mān-ĕtā*, 'are getting'. Past is formed by suffixing *-ja*; thus, *kāni-ja*, 'said', and the future by suffixing *-noyā*; thus, *mān-noyā*, 'will get'.

Imperative takes no termination; thus, *rāsām*, 'keep'.

Rābhā is a tongue once agglutinative which has become inflectional, under the influence of surrounding Aryan languages. The *khār-dang*, 'finishing doing', is the equivalent of the Bâṛâ *khām-zap*. [LSI pp. 104-105]

## TIPURĀ

162 Tipurā is spoken in the State of Hill Tipperah and the district of Chittagong Hill Tracts.

Gārō in many cases forms a connecting link between Bâṛâ and Tipurā. [LSI p. 109]



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*Nouns* : *Number.* Several suffixes are used to form the plural. The most common is *-rao*, as in Dī-māsā. Others are *-rok*, *-rong*, *-song*, and *-kobāng*. Thus, *mānui-rao*, 'things'.

*Case.* The declension is by suffixes, wihch are added to the base. [LSI p. 110]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *āng* ; for 'thou' is *nung* ; for 'he' is *bo*.

The Bengali relative pronoun *jē* is used. [LSI p. 110]

*Verbs.* The usual verb substantive is *tong*, with a present *tong-ō*, and a past *tong-khā*. The present tense in the first and third person is formed by suffixing *-o* or *-ō*, as in *āng-bu-o*, or *āng bu-ō*, 'I strike'. The second person singular and plural take *-di*, as in *nung bu-di*, 'thou beatest'. The future is formed by suffixing *-ā-nu*, as in *āng bu-ā -nu*, 'I shall strike'. The past tense is formed by suffixing, *-khā* or *-kā*, as in *bu-khā*, 'struck'.

As in other Bodo languages the causal verb is formed by suffixing the verb 'to give' to the main verbs ; thus, *kān-ru-di*, 'cause to wear'. [LSI pp. 110-111]

## CHUTIYĀ

**163** Chutiyā is spoken by Deori Chutiyās in Lakhimpur and Sibsagar districts of Upper Assam. This language may fairly claim to be the original language of Upper Assam. It represents the most archaic stage of the various languages grouped together under the name of Bodo. We here see in full play that system of modifying infixes, of which there are only sporadic remains in the other languages of the Bodo Group. [LSI pp. 118-119]

*Nouns* : *Gender.* There is no gender of inanimate objects. Animate objects prefix *mukaya-* (male) for the masculine and *mishigu-* (female) for the feminine.

*Number.* The plural number is formed by suffixing *-raju*, *-laju* or *-chiga*. The last is only used with human beings.

*Case.* The declension is by suffixes, which are added to the base. [LSI p. 120]

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*Adjectives.* The adjectives usually, but not always, precede the noun. The comparative is formed by adding *gāri* or *gārika* to the accusative of the noun with which comparison is made. The superlative is formed by using *muguro* or *mugurone*, 'all'.

Numerals take qualifying prefixes as usual. For human beings we have *dugu-* or *duku-* ; for animals and abstract nouns, *mu-*. Thus, *dugu-cha mōshi*, 'one man' ; *mu-ja lipedru*, 'one goat'. [LSI p. 120]

*Pronouns.* Thc personal pronoun of 'I' is *ã̃* ; for 'thou' is *nã̃*, and for 'he' (near) *lā*, *lā-shi*, (remote) *bā*, *bā-shi*. The personal pronouns have two plurals each—a long and a short. Thus, *jā-ru* (long), *ja-u* (short), 'we'. [LSI p. 120]

*Verbs.* The main peculiarity of the Chutiyā verb is, that, besides the usual tense suffixes, there may also be added infixes to the root which modify its meaning, not only giving the idea of mood, but also modifying the sense in a more obscure way. When these are used the order of the structure is as follows :

Root+modifying infix+tense suffix. For example, infix *-mā-* forms a potential verb ; *lari-mā-i*, 'I can give'. There are two conjugations, one is regular and the other one irregular. In the second *b* and *r* of the suffixes become *m* and *n* respectively.

The termination of present tense is *-i* in both the forms ; thus, *lare-i*, '(I) give' ; *no-i*, '(I) do'. The terminations of past tense are (regular) *-m*, *-bem*, and (irregular) *-mem* ; thus, *lare-m*, *lari-bem*, '(I) gave' ; *no-men*, '(I) did'. The terminations of the future in both the forms are *-n;* thus, *lare-n*, '(I) shall give' *no-n*, '(I) shall do'.

The verbs substantive are, *du-i*, 'am, art, is, are' ; *du-mde*, was, were'. There is a future *du-n*, and a participle *du-mto*. [LSI pp. 120-121]

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## 164 LIST OF SELECT WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE DIALECTS OF BODO GROUP

| *English* | *Bâṛâ or Plains Kacharī* | *Garō (Ātong, Garo Hills)* | *Tipura (Dacca)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| one | sè, sŭi | Gōesā | kai-sā |
| two | nè, nŭi | gōeñi | kun-nui |
| three | thăm | gōetām | kā-thām |
| four | brè, brŭi | birī | kai-brui |
| hand | ākhai | chāk | yāk |
| foot | āfā, ātheng | chāpā | yākum |
| head | khâṛâ | dikim | bo-khorok (his head) |
| a father | khā-sè-ā-fā (a my father) | wā'gābā | bā kai-sā |
| of a father | khā-sè-ā-fā-ni | wā'gābā-mī | bā kai-sā-ni |
| to a father | khā-sè-ā-fā-ni-āu | wā'gābā-nā | bā kai-sā no |
| two | khā-nè-ā-fā- | wā' gābā- | bā kun-nui, |
| fathers | fur | mingni | bā khorong-nui |
| I am | āng dang-a | āngā gānāng | āng tong-ō |
| thou art | nang dang-a | nāng'an gānāng | nunb tong-ō |
| he is | bī dang-a | uē gānāng | bo tong-ō |
| we are | zang-fur dang a | ning gānāng | chung tong-ō |
| you are | nang-sur dang-a | nā'tim gānāng | no-rok tong-ō |
| they are | bī-sur dang-a | utim gānāng | bo-ro tong-ō |
| I was | āng dang-man | āngā chim | āng tong-khā |
| thou wast | nang dang-man | nāng'ān chim | nung tong-khā |
| he was | bī dang-man | uān chim | bo tong-khā |
| we were | zang-fur dang-man | ningān chim | chung tong-khā |
| you were | nang-sur dang-man | nā'tim chim | no-rok tong-khā |
| they were | bī-fur dang-man | utim chim | bo-ro tong-khā |
| I shall be | āng zāa gan, zāa-nŭ-sŭi | āngān dong' susu rai'ā | āng ong-ā-nu |

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| *English* | *Bárá or Plains Kacharí* | *Garó (Átong Garo Hill)* | *Tipurá (Dacca)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| I beat | āng bu-i-ŭ | āng tokwā | āng buō |
| thou beatest | nang bu-i-ŭ | nāng' tokwā | nung-bu-di |
| he beats | bi bu-i-ŭ | uē tokwā | bo bu-ō |
| we beat | zang-fur bu-i-ŭ | ning tokwā | chung bu-ō |
| you beat | nang-sur bu-i-ŭ | nā'tim tokwā | no-rok bu-di |
| they beat | bī-sur bu-i-ŭ | utim tokwā | bo-ro bu-ō |
| I beat (past) | āng bu-bai | āng tokok | āng bu-khā |
| thou beatest (past) | nang bu-bai | nāng' tokok | nung bu-khā |
| he beat (past) | bī bu-bai | uē tokok | bo bu-khā |
| we beat (past) | zang-fur bu-bai | ning tokok | chung bu-khā |
| you beat (past) | nang-sur bu-bai | na'tim tokok | no-rok bu-khā |
| they beat (past) | bī-sur bu-bai | utim tokok | bo-ro bu-khā |
| I shall beat | āng bu-gan | āng toknī | āng bu-ā-nu [LSI pp. 131-191] |

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# NĀGĀ GROUP

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

165 The languages composing this group are spoken by tribes inhabiting the districts of Lakhimpur, Sibsagar, the Naga Hills, Cachar, the Nowgong, and the State of Manipur. These languages have been divided into five sub-groups, viz., Western, Central, Eastern, Nāgā-Bodo, Nāgā-Kuki.

The Nagas speak languages, so different that a member of one tribe speaking his own language is quite unintelligible to a member of the next tribe. But their vocabularies show that these languages were derived from the same stock. There is evidence to show that not only Manipuri, but also Bodo and Mikir are derived from the same stock as the languages spoken by the various tribes.

These languages may contrastively be divided into two classes :

1. Those in which the negative follows the root of the word it qualifies.
2. Those in which it precedes the root.

To class (1) belong Angāmi, Semā, Kachchā Nāgā, Kachārī, Manipuri, and Mikir. To class (2) belong Āo, Lhōtā, and Tamlu language. Cf. Angāmi, *vor*, 'come' ; *vormo*, 'not come'. Āo, *alli*, 'is' ; *malli*, 'is not'. However, all these languages agree regarding the use of negative particles, i.e., all of them use a form for the imperative negative different to that used in the ordinary conjugation of the negative verb. Thus, Angāmi, *povormo*, 'he has not come' ; *vorhē*, 'don't come' ; Āo, *pāmaro*, 'he has not come' ; *taro*, 'don't come'. [LSI pp. 198-202]

## WESTERN SUB-GROUP

166 This sub-group includes the Angāmi, Semā, Rengmā and Kezhāmā languages, and occupies the southern portion of the Naga Hills district.



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The distinguishing feature of the languages of this group, as compared with the central sub-group, is that in the latter the negative precedes, while in the former it follows, the word which is negatived. The two groups also differ widely in vocabulary, though having a common origin. The languages of this group, except Kezhāmā, for want of sufficient material, are described below. [LSI p. 203]

## ANGĀMI OR TENGIMĀ

167 Angāmi is spoken by the Angāmi tribe in the extreme south of the Naga Hills district. There are two main dialects of Angāmi, —a western, spoken by the Chakromā and the Tengimā, and called after the latter tribe; and an eastern, spoken by the Chakromā. The language, however, varies over the whole area from village to village. A grammatical sketch of the Tengimā dialect is given here. [LSI pp. 204-206]

*Pronunciation.* The vowel *à*, represents the sound of *a* in 'pan', and *o*, unmarked, represents the sound of the *o* in 'hot'. The sound of *a* in 'all' is represented as elsewhere in this survey by *â*. *Th* is pronounced as in 'hot house', not as in 'think'. [LSI p. 206]

*Articles.* The numeral *po*, 'one', is used for an indefinite article. Thus, *mā po*, 'a man'. For definite articles *hā-u*, 'this'; *lu*, 'that'; and the relative particle *u*, 'he who is' are used. Thus, *te-khu hā-u* or *te khu lu*, 'the tiger'. [LSI pp. 207-208]

*Nouns.* Nouns descriptive of parts of body, or expressing relationship, must always be preceded by a possessive pronouns. Thus, *ā-phi*, 'my feet'.

*Gender.* The natural gender is indicated in the case of nouns of relationship by different words and in the case of others by adding certain suffixes. Thus, *ā po*, 'my father'; *ā zo*, 'my mother'; *thu-dâ*, 'a bull', *thu-krü*, 'a cow'.

*Number.* Number is only indicated when it is not evident from the context. In such a case, the singular is indicated by suffixing *-po*, 'one', and the plural by suffixing *-ko*. Thus, *-ko* is the plural of suffix *-u* used as a definite article. Thus, *mi-thu-po*, 'a or one cow'; *mi-thu-ko*, 'the cows'.

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*Case.* Cases are formed by suffixes added to the nominative, which remains unchanged. The accusative and genitive usually take no postpositions. The genitive precedes the noun on which it is dependent. [LSI pp. 208-210]

*Adjectives.* When it is necessary to clearly distinguish the gender of the noun with which it agrees, the addition of suffix *-pfü* makes an adjective feminine. Thus, *the-nu ke-vi-pfü po*, 'a good woman'. Otherwise adjectives undergo no change. The comparison is indicated by the particle *ki*. [LSI p. 210]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *ā*; for 'thou' is *no*; and for 'he, she, it' is *po*. These pronouns have dual also. There is no relative pronoun. The suffix *-u*, 'he who is', feminine *-pfü*, 'she who is', plural *-ko*, is used instead. Thus, *themmā ke-vor-u*, 'man come-he-who-is, the man who is come'. [LSI pp. 210-211]

*Verbs.* There are five different verbs, with different radical meanings, which are used to express the verb substantive. The most common is *bā*, 'be'. Verbs do not change for gender, number or person. Tenses are formed by suffixes. As in other cognate languages, there is little or no distinction between present and past time. The main distinction is between time which is future and time which is non-future. Every verbal form which contains a direct statement usually ends with the syllable *-wē*, closely corresponding to what is called the categorical *a* in Munḍā languages. This syllable serves to define the verbal character of the word to which it is suffixed. It, hence, converts adjectives and nouns into verbs. Thus, *ma-po*, 'a man', *mā-po-wē*, '(I) am a man'. This syllable also functions as a suffix of the present, of the present definite, and of the imperfect. Thus, *ā pu-wē*, 'I speak, I am speaking, or I was speaking'. So also in the past. The suffix of the positive future is *-to-wē* or *-to*. Thus, *ā vor-to-wē* or *ā vor-to*, 'I shall come'.

The idea of passivity is indicated by the suffix *-te*, which if it is not followed by *-wē* is pronounced *-ta*. Thus, *po andu ngu-te*, 'he was seen yesterday'.

As in other connected languages, Angāmi uses a large number of infixes which can be inserted into a verbal root in

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order to modify its meaning. Thus, infix *-hu-*, means 'entirely', *-la-* means 'again', *-me-* means 'always', and so on.

The verb becomes causal by suffixing *-bu*, or *-bo* to the object. Thus, *po the-vo kwē-wē*, 'he tends or tended pigs', but *ā po-bu the-vo kwē-wē*, 'I caused him to tend pigs'.

[LSI pp. 211-214]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject (with its adjuncts), direct object, indirect object, verb. Adverbs usually follow the words they qualify. [LSI p. 214]

## SIMI OR SEMÁ

168 The language of the tribe, who call themselves Simi, but are known to us by their Angāmi name of Semā, is more like Angāmi than it is like any of the other Nāgā languages.

[LSI p. 222]

*Article.* The indefinite article is the numeral *lāki*, 'one'. The definite article is formed, as in Angāmi, by suffixing the relative particle *-u*, 'he who is'. Thus, *ā-kiti-u*, 'the younger'.

[LSI p. 223]

*Nouns : Gender.* The generic particle for the masculine is *tsü*, and for the feminine is *ku*. Thus, *ā-mishi-tsā*, 'a bull', *ā mishi-ku*, 'a cow'.

*Number.* The definite plural is formed, as in Angāmi, by suffixing *-ko*, when necessary. Thus, *ti-mi-ko*, '(the) men'.

*Case.* The nominative, accusative, and genitive usually take no suffixes. [LSI p. 223]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives follow the noun they qualify, as in Angāmi. Thus, *ti-mi ā-kivi lāki*, 'a good man'.

[LSI pp. 223-224]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *ngi*; for 'thou' is *nā*; for 'he' is *pa*. [LSI p. 224]



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*Verb.* The verb substantive is usually *ā-ngi* or *ā-ni*, which is used both for present and past time, and which corresponds to the Angāmi *ni*.

As in Angāmi, the main distinction in verbs is between non-future (i.e. both present and past) and future time. The simplest form of the non-future tenses is the plain root of the verb, the commonest suffix is *-lā*, which is simply a categorical suffix like the Angāmi *-wē*, and can be used with any tense. Instead of *-lā*, *-vē* may be used. When *-vē* and *-lā* are combined we get *-velā*, which gives a past significance. Thus, *pi-velā*, 'he said'. As regards future time, the most common suffix is *-unchē* or *-nchē*, as in, *-ngi kitāmi nu lu- nchē*, 'I shall take another girl'.

The causal suffix corresponding to Angami *-bu* is *-plo*, as in *pā-plo ā gwo kyēani*, 'caused him to tend his pigs'. Another causal form is made by prefixing *pi-* to the verb, as in *nhi*, 'to marry (of a woman)', *pi-nhi*, 'to cause to marry, to give a woman in marriage'. [LSI pp. 224-227]

## RENGMĀ OR UNZÂ

**169** The seat of the Rengmās is in the Nāgā Hills to the south of the Lhōtās. Their speech belongs to the Western Sub-Group. It has Angāmi on its south and west and semā on its east. The members of the tribe call themselves Unzâ, they are closely allied to the Semās.

The material available to give a grammatical sketch is scanty. [LSI pp. 235-236]

*Article.* For the definite article the prefix *a-* is used; thus, *a-nchegü*, 'the younger'. For the indefinite article, the numeral *mē*, 'one', is employed.

*Nouns : Gender.* Suffix *-tse* is used to indicate the masculine, and *-lē* the feminine. Thus, *metu tsē mē*, 'a bull'; *metu lē mē*, 'a cow'.

*Number.* The usual suffix of the plural seems to be *-dang*, as in *metu tsē-dang*, 'bulls'.

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*Case.* Accusative and genitive take no termination.
[LSI p. 236]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives follow the noun they qualify, and in that case, case - and number - suffixes are added to them, and not to the noun, as in *reni kaje-ki*, 'to a far country'. [LSI p. 237]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun of the first and third person singular is the same, *ā-lē* (I or he). For 'thou' it is *nē*.
[LSI p. 237]

*Verbs.* As in Angāmi, the suffixes of the present and of the past tense are the same, and the meaning of the verb must be concluded from the context.

The most usual suffix of the present is *-le* or *-nē* as in *vū-lē*, 'beats' ; *tē-bi-nē*, 'is making'.

The simplest form of the future is *vū-ti*, 'will strike'.

The causative particle, corresponding to the Angāmi *bu* is *no*, as in *ā-pui-no ā kanü-ti-le*, 'let us all be merry'.
[LSI pp. 237-238]

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## 170 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND PHARASES IN THE LANGUAGES OF THE WESTERN NĀGĀ SUB-GROUP

| *English* | *Angāmi (Tengimā)* | *Semā* | *Rengma* |
|---|---|---|---|
| one | po | lāki | mē |
| two | kennā | kinni, kinhi | kon-hu, kohung |
| three | sē | kethu, kethe | kingshan |
| four | dā | bidi, bedi | pezi |
| hand | bi, dzē | āu | nbē |
| foot | phi | ākupu | phā |
| head | tsu | āketsu | peh |
| a father | ā-po, ā-pu (my father) | āpu | āp fü mē |
| of a father | po-pu (of his father) | āpu | x |
| to a father | po-puki | x | x |
| two fathers | po-po kennā | āpu kinni | āp fü kong-hu |
| I am | ā bā | ngi ā-ngi, ā-ni | ālē bi-nē |
| thou art | no bā | nā-ngi | nē bi-nē |
| he is | po bā | pā ā-ngi | hilē bi-nē |
| we are | heko bā | ngi ko ā-ngi | haghalē bi-nē |
| you are | neko bā | nā-ko ā-ngi | x |
| they are | uko bā | pā-ko ā-ngi | x |
| I was | ā bā-lē | ngi ā-ngi, ā-ni | x |
| thou wast | no bā-lē | nā-ngi | x |
| he was | po bā-lē | pā ā-ngi | x |
| we were | heko bā-lē | ngi-ko a-ngi | x |
| you were | neko bā-lē | nā-ko ā-ngi | x |
| they were | uko bā-lē | pā-ko ā-ngi | x |
| I shall be | ā to-to-wē ā bā to-we | ngi shilunu | ālē tēlo-ti-lē |

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| *English* | *Angami (Tengima)* | *Sema* | *Rengma* |
|---|---|---|---|
| I beat | â vü-wē | ngi buē | ā lē vü-tē |
| thou beatest | no vü-we | nā buē | nē vü-lē |
| he beats | po vü-wē | pā buē | ālē vü-lē |
| we beat | heko vü-wē | ngi-ko buē | aghu -ne vü-lē |
| you beat | neko vü-wē | nā-ko-buē | haghu -nē vü-lē |
| they beat | uko vü-we | pā-ko buē | haghu -nē vü-lē |
| I beat (past) | ā vü-lē | ngi bu-velā | ālē vü-lē |
| thou beatest (past) | no vü-lē | nā bu-velā | nē -vü-lē |
| he beat (past) | po vü-lē | pā bu-velā | ālē vü-lē |
| we beat (past) | heko vü-le | ngi-ko bu-velā | agun vü-lē |
| you beat (past) | neko vü-lē | nā-ko bu-velā | lidan vü-lē |
| they beat (past) | uko vü-le | pā-ko bu-velā | tsünyu vü-lē |
| I shall beat | ā vü-to-wē | ngi bu-nche, bu-sinchē-ni | ālē vü-ti |

[LSI pp. 246-263]

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## CENTRAL SUB-GROUP

171 This sub-group includes the Āo and Lhōtā languages, and occupies the centre and north-east of the Nága Hills Disrtict.

The great distinction between the Western and the Central sub-group of Nāgā languages, is that, in a negative proposition, the latter prefixes, while the former suffixes, the negative particle to the word which is negatived. [LSI pp. 266-268]

## ĀO OR HATIGORRIA

172 Ao is spoken in the extreme north-east of the Nága Hills District. The Āos are divided into two tribes, Chungli or Zungi and Mongsen, speaking dialects which are so dissimilar as to be practically different languages. These two tribes though they in many instances live side by side in the same villages, have each preserved their own dialect.

In the following pages a grammatical sketch of only Chungli has been given, due to non-availability of material on Mongsen. [LSI pp. 269-270]

*Pronunciation.* Āo rejects not only sonant but also the surd aspirates. There does not appear to be any restriction as to the initial sounds. The most usual termination is either a vowel, a nasal, or *r*. The sound *ng*, which is very frequent as a final, seldom occurs as an initial. The consonant *h* occurs rarely.

When two vowels come together, they coalesce. Thus, *āru+ang=ārung*, 'come'; *shī+ōgō=shīgō*, 'said'. The consonants frequently interchange. Especially, *b* and *p*; *d* and *t*; *g* and *k*; and sometimes *b* and *m* and *n*, respectively. When *tsa* at the end of a verbal root is followed by *ā*, the whole becomes *zā*; thus, *āgatsa+āng=āgazāng*, 'give thou'. [LSI pp. 271-272]

*Articles.* The force of the indefinite article is given by suffixing the word *-kā* or *-kātī*, 'one'. Thus, *nīsung-kā*, 'a man'.



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They give the force of the definite article; the suffixes *-zī* and *-tū* or *-tō*, which are properly demonstrative pronouns, are often added. Thus, *nīsung-zī*, 'the man'. [LSI p. 272]

*Nouns: Gender.* For human relations different words are used to indicate gender. Thus, *bu*, 'father'; *tza*, 'mother'. The suffixes *-bā*, for male, and *-lā* for female are also commonly used.

*Number.* The number is only indicated when the non-indication would cause confusion.

*Case.* The case is indicated by adding suffixes to the base, except the genitive, for which no suffix is used The possessor simply precedes the possessed, as in *tetī-zī-āīn*, 'the elder brothers' anger'. The nominative and accusative also do not take suffixes when no ambiguity would ensue. [LSI pp. 272-273]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives are freely treated as verbs. Thus, *āzung*, 'good'; *āzungtsa*, 'will be good'; *zunger*, 'is good',

Comparison is indicated by the dative with *dāng*, as in *azī-dāng ībāzī tāzung*, than that this is good, this is better than that'. [LSI p. 273]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns have two forms each, a direct and an oblique. The oblique forms are employed in the sense of the genitive, and also usually, with postpositions. Thus, 'I' *nī*, 'my', *ka*, *ke* or *k*; 'thou' *nā*; 'thy', *ne*, etc.

The demonstrative pronouns are declined like substantives. To all of them the suffixes *-zī* and *-tū* or *-tō* may be added, which come after the suffix denoting case, and, when the pronoun is an adjective, after the noun with which it is in agreement. Thus, *ībā līmā-nung-zī*, 'in this country'. [LSI p. 274]

*Verbs.* The ideas of tense and mood are conveyed by prefixes and suffixes, added to the root. The verb does not change for number or person.

The present is formed by adding *-er* to the root. Thus, *nī ben-er*, 'I bring'. The past is formed by adding *ā-* or *-kā* to the root. Thus, *nī ā-ben*, *ben-kā*, 'I brought'. Immediate future is formed by adding *-dī*, and distant future by *-tsa*. Thus, *nī-ben-dī*, 'I shall bring soon'; *nī ben-tsa*, 'I shall bring'.

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*Compound verbs.* Āo uses a large number of infixes which can be added to a verbal root in order to modify its meaning. Such modified verbs, as a rule, do not take the prefix *a-* in the past tenses. For example, the infix - *mā* - gives the meaning of completion ; *na* of desire, *tep* of reciprocity ; *tet* of potentiality, etc. Thus, *ne-chīr-zī shībā ne sen chī-mā*, 'this thy son who has eaten up the property'.

*Passive voice.* This is rare. Nearly all roots are capable of being used as passive without change of form. Thus, *mādókba nāshī pāe ā-ngū*, 'he found the lost cow', and *mādokbā nāshī pā āge ā ngū*, 'the lost cow was found by him'. [LSI pp. 274-277]

*Order of words.* The verb usually comes last in the sentence. The subject may be first in the sentence, or in any other place where it may best serve the full expression of the main and subordinate thoughts. Adjectives follow the words they qualify, and genitives precede the words on which they depend. [LSI p. 277]

## LHŌTĀ

173. Lhōtās live in Wokha and Mokokchang Sub-division of Nága Hills district. Their language differs from village to village, but this is principally a matter of intonation and pronunciation. Lhōtā is a distinct language from Āo, but is at the same time closely connected with it. [LSI p. 284]

*Pronunciation.* Lhōtā Nāgā, unlike Áo, abounds in aspirated consonants. There is even an *fh* and *phh*. As in Āo there is a double sibilant written as *sc*. Sounds are frequently interchanged,—thus, *a* and *o* ; *ī* and *ü*, *üe* and *wī* ; *h* and *p* ; *l* and *n* ; *m* and *v* ; *p* and *s*, etc.

Tones play an important part in Lhōtā. The syllable of negation is always pronounced on a much higher key than the rest of the word to which it is prefixed. Thus, *m'mā*, 'is not', but *mmā*, 'belly'. [LSI p. 285]

*Articles.* The force of indefinite article is conveyed by suffixing the indefinite pronouns *matsangā* or *ntsangā*, 'a certain'. In the case of human beings, *nchyūā*, which has the same meaning may be substituted. The force of the definite articles is

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given by suffixing the demonstrative pronouns *shī*, 'this', or *chī*, 'that'; or the relative particle *wōchī*, or *wōchū*; thus, *kabo shī*, 'this book, the book'; *e-tsō-wōchī*, 'he who eats, the eater'.

[LSI p. 286]

*Nouns.* The natural gender is indicated by different words or by adding suffixes, such as *e-pūē*, 'male', *e-lüē*, 'female', thus, *ō-pō*, 'father'; *ō-yō*, 'mother'; *nūngōr e-pūē*, 'a boy'; *nūngōr e-lüē*, 'a girl'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural, which are only indicated when rendered necessary from the context.

*Case.* The case is indicated by adding suffixes to the base. When the noun is followed by an adjective in agreement with it, the suffix is added to the latter. [LSI pp. 286-287]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives usually, but not always follow the noun they qualify. Comparison is indicated by suffixing *-wō*, 'gone' to the adjective. The suffix is liable to be euphonically changed to *-mō* or *-ō*. Thus, *aiyō nī sapō-wō*, 'I you tall gone, you are taller than I'. [LSI p. 287]

*Pronouns.* Personal pronouns for only two persons, first and second, are met within the dialect. The demonstrative pronouns serve the purpose of the third. Thus, *shī, hī*, 'this, he'; *chi, chū*, 'that, he' etc. The forms of the dual may be noted; *enī*, 'we, you' and 'I', *shīennī*, 'we, he and I', *nī-nī*, 'you two'.

[LSI pp. 287-288]

*Verbs.* The ideas of tense and mood are conveyed by prefixes and suffixes added to the root. The verb does not change for number or person.

The suffix of the present tense is *-ā-lā*. Base alone is also used in the sense of present. Thus, *ā-nā tsō*, *ā-nā tsō-ā-la*, 'I eat, I am eating'. The suffixes of the past are *-ā* and *-cho*; thus, *ā-nā tsō-ā*, *ā-nā tsō-cho*, 'I ate'. The suffixes of the future are *-v* and *-kā*. Base alone is also used as future. Thus, *ā-nā tsō*, *ā-nā tsō-v*, *ā-nā tsō-kā*, 'I shall eat'.



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The imperative is formed by suffixing *-ā* to the base. Thus *tsō-ā*, 'eat'.

*Compound verbs.* As in Āo, a large number of particles can be added to the root in order to modify its meaning. The infix *tōk* gives the meaning of causal; *kōk* or *che* give the meaning of potential; *hng* or *tāne* that of desiderative; *tāt* or *tsang* that of intensives; thus, *ā-nā hī tsō-ā-lā*, 'I cause him to eat'; *ā-nā tsō kōk-ā*, 'I can eat'; *ā-tsō-hng-ā*, 'I wish to eat'; *ai yip-tsang-ā*, 'I am very sleepy'.

*Passive voice.* As in Āo, roots may be used either in an active or in passive signification. Thus, *tsō-chākā*, means either 'has eaten' or 'has been eaten'. The meaning has to be judged from the construction of the sentence. [LSI pp. 288-289]

*Order of words.* Adjectives and articles usually follow the noun they qualify. The thing possessed follows the possessor. The subject usually commences the sentence and the verb usually ends it. [LSI p. 289]

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## 174 SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND PHRASES IN THE LANGUAGES OF THE CENTRAL NĀGĀ GROUP

| *English* | *Āo (Chungli)* | *Hati Garya Naga* | *Lhōta* |
|---|---|---|---|
| one | kā, ākā | ākhāt | ekhā |
| two | ānā | ānek | enni |
| three | āsam | āchām | etham |
| four | peza | fli | mezü |
| hand | tekā, ket | dekhat | ōkhe |
| foot | temopo, tetsung | tejang | mpo |
| head | toko lāk | tekā lok | kurr |
| a father | tebu kā, tebue | ābā ātā | ōpō-nā, ōpō |
| of a father | tebu kā | ābā pā | ōpō |
| to a father | tebu kā dāng | āba likhu | ōpō-ī |
| two fathers | tebu ānā | ābā āhnutu | ōpō enni |
| I am | ni līr | ni lyāhu | ā liā, ā vānālā |
| thou art | nāe līr | nāng lyāche | nā liā |
| he is | pāe līr, kār | chu baju (? chyurāj) lyāche | shī liā |
| we are | onoke līr | ilānching lyāche | e liā |
| you are | nenoke līr | ninglā lyāche | nīliā |
| they are | pārenoke līr, kār | tohlā lyāche | shiāng liā |
| I was | nīālī, lī-āsa | ni lige chānu | ā līcho |
| thou wast | nāe ālī, lī-āsa | nāng ligechānu | nā līcho |
| he was | pāe ālī, lī-āsa, ākā | chureya (? chyurāj) ligechānu | shī lī-cho |
| we were | onoke ālī, lī-āsa | ilānching ligechānu | ē lī-cho |
| you were | nenoke ālī, lī-āsa | ninglā lige-chānu | nī lī-cho |

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| *English* | *Ao (Chungli)* | *Hati Garya Naga* | *Lhota* |
|---|---|---|---|
| they were | pārenoke ālī, lī-āsa, ākā | tohlā lige-chānu | shīāng lī-cho |
| I shall be | nī lī-dī | nī cho | ā līkā |
| I beat | nī āzak-er | nini sikra | ānā tāpālā |
| thou beatest | nāe āzak-er | nāngni sikra | nānā tāpālā |
| he beats | pāe āzak-er | churāju sikra | shīnā tāpālā |
| we beat | onoke āzak-er | ilānching sikra | ēnā tāpālā |
| you beat | nenoke āzak-er | ninglā sikra | nīnā tāpālā |
| they beat | pārenoke āzak-er | tohlā sikra | shīangnā tāpālā |
| I beat (past) | nī ā-zak-ā | x | ānā tāpcho (or tācho) |
| thou beatest (past) | nāe ā-zak-ā | x | nānā tāpcho |
| he beat (past) | pāe ā-zak-ā | x | shīnā tāpcho |
| we beat (past) | onoke ā-zak-ā | x | ēnā tāpcho |
| you beat (past) | nenoke ā-zak-ā | x | nīnā tāpcho |
| they beat (past) | parenoke ā-zak-ā | x | shīangnā tāpcho |
| I shall beat | nī zak-dī, āzak-tsa | ninu sikra | ānā tāp |

[LSI pp. 292-327]

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## EASTERN SUB-GROUP

175 In the group are included all the tribes found in the tract lying east of Hatigorria country extending to the Singpho country on the east and bounded on the south by the Patkoi range of hills These tribes speak languages which are almost unintelligible to each other.

These languages may be considered to be a group of transition languages, bridging over the gulf between the other Nāgā languages and Singpho, the great language which lies to their east and south-east.

At least four languages of the group, Tableng, Tamlu, Mojung, and Namsangiā, have an organic conjugation of the verb. That is, that each tense changes according to the person of the subject, a state of affairs quite foreign to the other Nāgā languages, and almost foreign to the Bodo ones. The Namsangia verb (while not changing for number) has its three persons for each tense, just like Assamese or Bengali. This is also unknown to Singpho.

The grammatical sketch of only one language, viz., Namsangiā is being given, as necessary material with regard to other languages is not available. [LSI pp. 329-330).

### NAMSANGIĀ

176 The Namsangiās live across the eastern border of the Sibsāgar District. The tribe is also known by the name of Jaipuriā Nāgas after their principal village. We know more about their language than we do about the other members of the Eastern Nāgā group, for Robinson wrote a short grammar of this language in 1849, on the basis of which a grammatical sketch is given below. [LSI p. 335]

*Nouns* : *Gender*. Gender among human beings is denoted by distinct terms and in the case of animals by the appellatives *pōng*, 'male', and *nyōng*, 'female', which are added to the noun. Thus, *mi-nyān*, 'man', *dehiek*, 'woman'; *mān-pong*, 'a bull'; *man-nyōng*, 'a cow'.



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*Number.* There are two genders, the singular and the plural The particle *he* is employed where the plural is not clear from the context.

*Case.* The cases are not indicated by affixes. The genitive is denoted merely by the juxta-position of the two substantives, the former being understood in the genitive. Thus, *kien ugiupo phyet-ō*, 'milk the goat' (or literally), 'draw the goat's milk'. [LSI p. 336]

*Adjectives.* An adjective invariably follows the noun it serves to qualify. Thus, *i rā kien ngiu-po asan ko-ā*, 'that goat milk good gives'. Adjectives admit of no variations expressive of number, case or gender, or even of the degrees of comparison. When comparison is to be made, the adjective is placed after the noun, with which comparison is made, the noun being put in the oblique form. Thus, *ngāmā īrā mi-nyān nang ālō*, 'I am taller than that man', or literally 'I that man tall'. [LSI pp. 336-337]

*Numerals.* The numeral system is decimal. [LSI p. 337]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *ngā*; for 'thou' is *nang*; and for 'he, she or it' is *atē*.

In the oblique form these pronouns take the particle *nang* after them, as in the case of nouns. Thus, *ngā-nang nang-nang* etc. [LSI pp. 337-338]

*Verb.* The verb has one form of conjugation and the various modifications of an action are expressed by the addition of terminations to the verb expressing the action. The terminations are the same in both singular and plural numbers.

The terminations of the present and the future are the same. In the first person suffix *-ang* is added, in the second person *-ō* is added, and in the third person *-ā* or *-ē* is added. Thus, *thieng-ang*, 'I put or I shall put'. The past is formed by adding suffixes *-tak* in the first person, *-tō* in the second person, and *-tā* in the third person.

The imperative form is the same as that of the second person present tense. [LSI pp. 338-339]

*Adverb.* The adverbs are used to qualify verbs and adjectives. They usually precede the verb and follow the adjective. Thus, *āchanmā*, 'fast'; *āchanmā lu-ō*, 'hold fast'; *jō*, 'very'; *īrā natā-mā along jō*, 'that boy (is) very cross'. [LSI p. 339]

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## 177 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE LANGUAGES OF THE EASTERN NÁGÁ SUB-GROUP

| *English* | *Tableng* | *Banparā (Campbell)* | *Namsangiā (of Luckimpore)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| one | chā | ettā | wān-thek |
| two | i | āni | wāni |
| three | lum | ājām | wān-ram |
| four | peli | ālli | belli |
| hand | yāk | chāk | dāk |
| foot | yā | chia | dā |
| head | shāng-ching | khāng | khau |
| a father | pā-chā | tā-hopā | wānthe ibbā |
| of a father | pā | hopā-ku | wānthe ibban |
| to a father | pā-tho | hopā-ku | wānthe ibbā karāng |
| two fathers | pāi | āni hopā | ibbā wāni |
| I am | tāo we | ku tai lē | mi tangian |
| thou art | nàng yāng | nāng lē | nang ne |
| he is | mi ngonànkei | si lē | phang tang mātangā |
| we are | tumai ye | kem lē | lahu thang |
| you are | numai yâng | hāzām lē | rāng-mahu thāne |
| they are | mi-yi-mai ngonànkei | hām tāi lē | chenin thān |
| I was | tāo ngonàng-kei | ku nā lē | mi mātang taya |
| thou wast | nàng ngonàng-kei | nāng nā lē | lāngā neah |
| he was | mi ngokzā | si nā lē | ire mātang taya |
| we were | tumai ngokei | kem nā lē | la huthang |
| you were | numai ngokei | hāzām nā lē | nong mahu thane |
| they were | mi-yimai ngopu | hām nā lē | jeheme thangta |
| I shall be | tāo miyāng tākei | ku ā chāngai | ngāi dāng and |

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| *English* | *Tableng* | *Banparā (Campbell)* | *Namsangia (of Luckimpore)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| I beat | tāo shet-nàng | ku māi | ing me batah |
| thou beatest | nāng shet-chi | nānga māile | langa watikang |
| he beats | mi shet-kei | siā māilē | atana watika |
| we beat | tumai shet-nàng | keme māia | inga me bat-ikong |
| you beat | numai shet-chi | hāzām māiā | langa maba-ika |
| they beat | mi-yimai phet kei | hām māiā | chenin maba-ika |
| I beat (past) | tāo shet-kei | x | x |
| thou beatest (past) | nàng shet-kei | x | x |
| he beats (past) | mi shet-kei | x | x |
| we beat (past) | tumai shet-kei | x | x |
| you beat (past) | numai shet-kei | x | x |
| they beat (past) | mi-yimai she-kei | x | x |
| I shall beat | tāo shenang | ku-ā maia | inga thenga ah |

[LSI pp. 342-377]

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## NĀGĀ-BODO SUB-GROUP

178 This group of languages is bounded on the south by the Kuki, and on the west and north by the Bodo Group. This group bridges over the difference between the characteristic features of the two forms of speech. It consists of two main languages, viz., Mikir, whose headquarters is in Mikir Hills in the east of the Nowgong District, and Kachchā Nāgā or Ēmpēo, which is spoken in North Cachar and in the adjoining tracts of the Nága Hills. Subordinate languages, closely akin to, but not dialects of, Kachchā Nāgā, are Kabui Nāgā and Khoirāo Nāgā. The Bodo language with which they show the most important points of kinship, is the eastern one - Chutiyā, - while Angāmi and Lhōtā are the two Nāgā tongues to which they are most closely allied, [LSI p. 379]

### MIKIR

179 The Mikirs inhabit the lower hills and adjoining lowlands of the central portion of the range stretching from the Garo hills to the Páthoi. [LSI pp. 380-381]

*Pronunciation.* Mikir possesses the following consonants, -*b*, *ch*, *d*, *h*, *j*, *k*, *l*, *m*, *n*, *ng*, *p*, *r*, *s*, *t*. *v* and the aspirates *kh*, *ph*, *th*, *bh*, *dh* and *g* occur only in a few borrowed words, *ng* never occurs initially. The vowels are -*a*, *à* (pronounced as in German 'Mann'), *ē*, *é* (as in 'pet'), *ī*, *i*, *ō*, *ó* (as in 'pot'), *o*, *ū*, *u*. There is a tendency for the long *ā* to be thinned down to *ē*. as in loan words *rēcho*= *ājā* and *bērī*=*baṛī*. [LSI pp. 381-382]

*Nouns* : *Gender.* Gender is not distinguished except for animate beings, and in them either (1) by difference of termination or (2) by added words indicating sex, or (3) by different terms. Thus, *pō*, 'father', *pē*, 'mother' ; *sō-pō*, 'boy', *sō-pī*, 'girl' ; *ārlèng*, 'man', *ārlosō*, 'woman'.



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*Number.* There are two numbers, singular and plural. The ordinary suffix for the plural is *-ātum*, but other words are occasionally suffixed to indicate plurality, as *mār*, 'a mass, quantity or company'; *òng*, 'many'. With pronouns the suffix is *-tum*, not *-ātum*. Thus, *nē-tum*, 'we'.

*Case.* The case is indicated by position or by postpositions. The nominative or generally speaking the accusative have no postpositions, but are ascertained by their position in the sentence —the nominative at the beginning, the accusative following it before the verb. The genitive always precedes the noun on which it depends. When it is a pronoun of the first or second person, nothing intervenes between the two; *nē-hèm*, 'my house'. But when the pronoun is of the third person, or when the first noun takes the place of a pronoun of the third person, the following noun has *ā-* inserted before it. Thus, *lā-apō*, 'his father'.

[LSI pp. 382-384]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives are regularly formed by prefixing *ke-*, *kā-*, or *ki-* to the root, and do not change for number, gender, or case. Thus, *mē*, 'being good'; *ke-mē*, 'good'. The form of the adjective is precisely the same as that of (1) the present participle of the verbal root used to form the present tense, and (2) the abstract or infinitive of that root, and the collocation of the sentence alone determines the meaning of the word used. When particles of comparison or other modifying elements are added to the adjective, the prefix (*ke*, etc.) is often omitted as unnecessary. Thus, *kemē*, 'good', *mē-mū*, 'better', *mē nē*, 'best'.

The adjectives sometimes precede, but more commonly follow, the noun qualified. [LSI pp. 384-385)

*Numerals.* The numerals follow the noun.

The generic prefixes are commonly used with numbers, as in many other Tibeto-Burman languages. For example, with persons *bàng-* is used; with animals *jòn-* is used; with trees and things standing up *ròng-* is used; with houses *hum-* is used. Thus, *hèm hum-phòngō*, 'five houses'. [LSI p. 385]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *nē*; for 'thou' is *nàng*; for 'he, she, it' is *lā*; and for 'he, she' is *ā làng*. Two forms

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of the first person plural may be noted ; *nē-tum*, *nē-lī*, *nē-lī-tum*, 'we', excluding the person addressed ; *ī-tum*, *ī-lī*, 'we', including the person addressed.

The relative pronouns properly speaking, do not exist. Their place is taken by descriptive adjectival phrases. Thus, 'those persons who had carried cow's flesh (to market) returned home', is *lā chainòng-à-òk hevàn-àtum hèm chevoilō*, 'those cow's flesh carriers home returned'. [LSI pp. 385-386]

*Verbs.* The Mikir verb indicates time, present, past, and future, by means of particles prefixed to the root. The verb does not vary for gender, number or person. There is no separate verb substantive, though there are several ways of indicating existence, as *do* 'stay, abide' ; *plàng* ; 'become'. Compound roots are very extensively used, the principal verb being put first, then the modifying supplements, and then the time-index.

The simple present is expressed by the participle with *ke-* (*kā-*) without any suffix, as *vō kāng jār*, 'the bird flies'. The simple past is expressed by the verbal root with *-lō* or *-dèt*, as *lā pu-lō*, or *pu-dèt*, 'he said'. Sometimes *-dèt* and *-lō* are used together ; *lā nē ingtòn-dèt-lō* 'he abused me'. There are besides a great number of other particles indicating past time, used with particular verbs. The future is represented in two ways (1) by *-pō* added to the root, to indicate an action beginning now and continued in the future, as *nē-tum nònkē labàngsō ākàm āpòtsī pu-po*, 'we will talk about this affair now (*nònkē*) ; (2) by *-jī* added to the root, for an action which commences later on. e.g., *badu arlèng-tā thī jī*, 'all men will die (i e., at some future date).

The imperative is, for the second person, the bare root, or more usually the root strengthened by the addition of *noi*, *thā*, or *nòn*. Thus, *pī-noi*, 'give'. The other persons are formed by addition of *-nàng* to the future in *-pō* or present in *-lō*. Thus, *ītum dàm-pō-nàng* ; 'let us go'.

*Passive voice.* The passive, as in other languages of the same family, is unknown as a separate form. It may sometimes be expressed by a periphrasis, as in, *nē kechòk èn-tàng*, 'I was beaten', lit., 'I received a beating' ; but it is most frequently found in a participle form, which is identical with the active participle, and

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in fact the same thing regarded from the other side. Thus, 'he was lost, and is found again' is rendered *ingbō-dèt-tā. lòng-thu-lòk-lō* ; this might equally well be rendered actively 'I had lost him, now I have found him again'.

*Negative verb.* The negative verb is a very interesting and remarkable feature of the language A separate negative root, formed by prefixing or suffixing a negative particle and conjugated in the same way as the positive, is indeed a common property of Tibeto-Burman speech, but in Mikir the secondary root is formed in an exceptional manner. The syllable *-ē* is added to the primitive, as *un*, 'can' ; *un-ē*, 'cannot, is unable'. But when the root begins with a consonant or a nexus of consonants, these are repeated before the added syllable ; thus, *thèk*, 'see' ; *thèk-thē*, 'see not'.

*Compound verbs.* Roots are heaped together, and the compound is closed by the tense suffix. Ordinarily the first root determines the meaning of the compound, the rest being adverbial supplements of modifying force ; thus, *chiru-pī-lèm-lō*, pretended to weep (*chiru*, 'weep' ; *lèm*, 'seem, appear' ; *pī-lèm*, 'cause to seem, pretend'). [LSI pp. 386-391]

*Adverbs.* These are extremely numerous, and are, like subsidiary verbal roots inserted between the principal verb and the tense—suffix ; e.g., thus, *thu*, 'again' ; *rèng-thu-èt-lō*, 'is alive again'. [LSI p. 391]

## ĒMPĒO OR KACHCHĀ NĀGĀ

180 The tribe speaking this language inhabits the eastern part of North Cachar, and the adjoining portion of the Nága Hills.

The language cannot be said to be closely connected with any of the western Nāgā tribes. On the contrary, it has some features which are Nāgā, others which are like those which we meet in Bodo group, and others like those in Kuki. This language is a sort of connecting link between the three groups of Tibeto-Burman languages, Nāgā, Kuki, and Bodo. [LSI pp. 411-412]

*Pronunciation.* The nasal *ng* is of frequent occurrence but never commences a word. The accent is usually on the penultimate

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syllable, but in the case of conjugation is usually on the conjugational suffix. [LSI p. 412]

*Articles.* There are no articles. Sometimes *kat*, 'one' is used as an indefinite article. [LSI p. 412]

*Nouns : Gender.* Gender in only indicated in the case of living beings. Sometimes different words are used, as *āsi*, 'brother' : *ā kinā*, 'sister' ; Frequently it is indicated by suffixes ; thus, *enrūi-rē*, 'a male bird, a cock' ; *enrūi-pūi*, 'a female bird, a hen' ; *minā*, 'man' ; *minā-mi*, 'men'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plural is indicated by different suffixes, when the context is not clear. Thus, human beings take *mī* ; as *mī-nā*, 'man' ; animals, birds, insects, etc., take *-dūng* ; as *godōm-dūng*, 'cows' ; inanimate things take *-kēdā* ; as *mī-kēdā*, 'fires', etc. There is another plural suffix *-nung*, used like the Hindustani *wālā* ; thus, *rāme-nung*, 'the villagers'.

*Case.* The case is indicated by the suffixes, but these are often omitted, especially in the case of accusative. [LSI p. 413]

*Adjectives.* The adjective does not change for gender. It follows the noun it qualifies.

The comparison is formed by the particle *hā* for comparative and *dē* for superlative. [LSI p. 413]

*Numerals.* Cardinals take prefixes of classification according to the objects enumerated. With human beings *hāng* is used. Thus, *minā hāng kat*, 'one man'. [LSI p. 413]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *ānūi* ; for 'thou' is *nāng* ; and for 'he, she, it' is *ji*. The first and second persons become *-ā* and *-nā*, respectively, before postpositions. [LSI p. 414]

*Verbs.* There is no distinction between verbs and other parts of speech ; nouns, adjectives, and pronouns freely taking verbal terminations. Thus, *minā-dā*, 'it is a man' ; *minā-gū*, 'it will be a man'.

The ideas of tenses and moods are conveyed by suffixes. There are two main tenses, a future and a non-future (including

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both simple present and simple past). The tenses do not change for number and person.

The causative verb is formed by appending the verb *pē-ra*, 'to give', to the infinitive of the principal verb. Thus, *ānūī lū-ra pē-gū*, 'I shall cause to get'.

*Passive voice.* The passive voice is formed by the past participle of the verb, followed by different tenses of *lā-ra*,' to be'.

Thus, *ānūī lū ānūī lū-shē* 'I was, or am, gotten'.

[LSI pp. 414-415]

*Order of words.* The order of words is usually subject, object, verb. The adjective follows the word it qualifies, and the interrogative particle *mē* comes at the end of sentences.

[LSI p. 415]

## KABUI OR KAPWĪ

**181** The Kabui tribe speaking this language is divided into two classes: the Songhu and the Poeron; the former inhabit the range of hills which separates Cachar from Manipur, and the latter being small in number inhabit a few villages to the north-east of Songhu.

This language belongs to the Nāgā group, and like Kachchā Nāgā, is a transition language between Angāmi and the languages of the Bodo Group. At the same time, it also shows points of contact with Kuki languages. [LSI p. 416]

*Pronunciation.* The consonants *r* and *l* are interchangeable. Thus, *lan* or *ran*, 'wealth'. When termination commences with one of these consonants, it always becomes *l* after a consonant, but *r* after a vowel. Thus, *pahut-lanā*, 'having run' : *bai-ranā*, 'having beaten'. [LSI p. 416]

*Nouns : Gender.* The natural gender is indicated by separate words or by suffixes indicating sex. Thus, *ā-po*, 'my father'; *ā-poi*, 'my mother'; *goitom gāmoi*, 'a bull'; *tokon koi*, 'a cow'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plural is formed by adding various suffixes; *-nhun* (sometimes *-hnū*) is used for human beings; *-goi* for human beings

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and things ; *gāimai* for animals. Thus, *ā-po-nhun*, 'fathers' ; *tokon gāmai gāmai*, 'horses'.

*Case.* Cases are formed by the addition of suffixes.

The nominative takes no suffix, except when it is subject of a transitive verb, it takes *-roi*. Thus, *āi tadē*, 'I go', but *āi-roi bāiye*, 'I strike'.

The genitive as a rule takes no suffix. It is simply prefixed to the governing noun as in *ā-pū banggoiroi*, 'my father's servants'. Sometimes the suffix *-khang* is used, as in *ā-po khang*, 'of a father'. [LSI pp 417-418]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives precede or succeed the noun they qualify. When they follow a noun, case suffixes, etc., are suffixed to the adjective. Thus, *gāng khat kho taranā*, 'going to one (i.e., a) man. [LSI p 418]

*Numerals.* Numerals follow the noun they qualify. [LSI p. 418]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *āi, āi-roi* ; for 'thou' is *nang, nang-loi* ; for 'he, she, it' is '*kamāi kamāi-roi*. The pronouns have an oblique form which is used before suffixes and as a genitive. Thus, *ā*, 'me, my', *nang, nang-loi*, 'thee, thy'. [LSI pp. 418-419]

*Verbs* As usual in this group and in Angāmi the boundary line between verbs and other parts of speech is ill-defined. Adjectives freely take verbal terminations, first divesting themselves of adjectival accretions. Thus, *kā-ū-mai*, 'tall' ; *kā-wē*, 'is tall'.

The only time which is clearly defined is the future, which is indicated by the suffix *-ni* as in *āi tū-ni*, 'I shall be'.

The auxiliary verbs are *tū*, 'to be', and *bam*, 'to remain'. They frequently appear in conjugation.

The present is formed by adding suffixes *-ē* and *-the*. Thus, *bām-ē*, 'remains' ; *thai-pini-thē*, 'am dying'.

In past tense in addition to other suffixes *-the* is also common ; thus, *sā-thē*, 'said'.

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The most common suffix of the imperative is *-tho*, as in *ti-tho*, 'give'. We have also *ti-ti-yo* (of Hindī dē-dēnā), 'give'.

*Compound verbs.* As in the cognate languages, compound verbs are common. Thus, causal or permissive, *-ti-naū-thē*, 'gave the beast'. Hence the verb *ti*, 'to give' is prefixed.

[LSI pp. 419-420]

## KHOIRĀO

**182** The Khoirāo Nāgās inhabit the northern hills of the Manipur State. They are flanked by the Kukis on the west, and the Tangkhuls on the east. This language is closely connected with Kabui and Kachchā Nāgā. Like Kabui, it shows points of contact not only with the Bodo languages, but also with the Kuki ones. [LSI p. 424]

*Nouns : Gender.* The gender is distinguished by addition of suffixes indicating sex ; thus, male *pābā*, 'female', *pūi*. *tōm pābā*, 'a bull', *thi pūi*, 'bitch'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and plural. When necessary for the sense, the plural is indicated by the suffix *-kahak*, as *pā-kahak*, 'fathers'.

*Case.* Cases are formed as usual by suffixes.

The nominative, either takes no suffix, or else takes the suffix *-ni*, which apparently mean 'by', and converts the whole sentence into a passive one. [LSI pp. 424-425]

*Adjective.* Adjectives, including numerals, follow the nouns they qualify. They do not themselves change for gender. As usual when an adjective qualifies a noun, the case suffixes, etc., are appended to the adjective only. [LSI p. 425]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *hai, hai-ni* ; for 'thou' is *nang, nang-ni* ; for 'he' is *pāi, pāi-ni*, The plural of each is formed by suffixing *-rami*. Thus, *hai-rami*, 'we'.

[LSI pp. 425-426]

*Verbs.* As in Kabui and Ēmpēo, the system of tense suffixes is very loosely applied. The one tense about which there is any

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certainty is future, of which the sign is *-lē* ; thus, *wū-lē*, 'will strike'. The suffix *-e* is used both for present and past time ; thus, present, *haini-wū-ē*, 'I strike' ; past (including perfect and pluperfect), *rā-ē*, 'came'. The past often takes in addition the sound *-ng*, making *-ngē*, which does not appear to be used for the present ; thus, *thaw-ngē*, 'went'.

The suffix of the imperative is *-la*, as in *pi-la*, 'give'.

The suffix of the present participle is *-ni*, and is very common, both as a true adjective and as an adverbial participle. Thus, *wu-ni*, 'striking'. The form of the past participle is the same as that of the present. Thus, *wu-ni*, 'having struck'.

*Passive voice.* Passive voice is the same as the active. The subject is put in the accusative. Thus, *hai-yo wū-ē*, 'I am beaten', literally means, 'beats me'.

*Compound verbs.* As in cognate languages, these are of frequent occurrence. Thus, *yēn-pi-ngē*, 'dividing he gave, he divided and gave'. [LSI pp. 426-427]



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## 183 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE LANGUAGES OF THE NĀGĀ-BODO SUB-GROUP

| *English* | *Mikir (Nowgong)* | *Empeo (Kachchā Naga)* | *Kabui Naga* |
|---|---|---|---|
| one | īsī | kāt | khal |
| two | hīnī | ganā | kanhāi |
| three | kethâm | gūjūm | kathom |
| four | phlī | mādai | padāi |
| hand | ā-rī | mipā | bān |
| foot | ā-keng | mipi | phai-pā (tan, leg) |
| head | ā-phū | mipēi | pi |
| a father | āpō | āpēo | āpo khat |
| of a father | āpō | āpēo-gu | āpo khat-khang |
| to a father | āpō ānāt | āpēo dūi | āpo khat-tho |
| two fathers | āpō bāng-hīnī | āpēo hāng-ganā | āpo kanhāi |
| I am | ne dō | ā nūī lā, lādā, lā lē | āitūthē |
| thou art | nāng dō | nānglā, lādā, lālē | nang tūthē |
| he is | lā dō | jī lā, lādā, lālē | kamāi tū thē |
| we are | ne-tūm dō | ānūīmī lā, lādē. lalē | hāigoi tūthē |
| you are | nāng-tūm dō | nāngnuī mī la, lādā, lālē | nāngh nūgoi tū thē |
| they are | lā-tūm dō | jīmīlā, lādā, lālē | māikāi tūthē |
| I was | ne dō-lâ | ānūī lādā, lādā lē | āi tūlawē |
| thou wast | nāng dō-lâ | nāng lādā, lādā lē | nang tūlawē |
| he was | lā dō-lâ | jīlādā, lādālē | kamāi tulawē |
| we were | ne-tūm dō-lâ | ānūīmī lādā, lādālē | hāi goi tūlawē |
| you were | nāng-tūm dō-lâ | nangnūīmi lādā, lādālē | nanghnūgoi tūlawē |

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| *English* | *Mikir (Nowgong)* | *Empeo (Kachchā Nāga)* | *Kabui Naga* |
|---|---|---|---|
| they were | lā-tūm dō-lâ | jīmīlādā, lādālē | māikāi tūlawē |
| I shall be | ne dō-jī | ānūī lāgū | ai tūni |
| I beat | ne châk-pō | ānūī bēō-dā, -lē, -dālē | āiroi bāiyē |
| thou beatest | nāng châk-pō | nāng bēō-dā | nangloj bāiyē |
| he beats | lā châk-pō | jī bēō-dā | kamāi roi bāiyē |
| we beat | ne-tūm châk-pō | ānūīmī bēō-dā | hāi goiroi bāiyē |
| you beat | nāng-tūm châk-pō | nāngnūīmī bēō-dā | nanghnūgoiroi bāiyē |
| they beat | la-tūm châk-pō | jīmī bēō-dā | māi kāiroi bāiyē |
| I beat (past) | ne-châk-tâng-lâ | ānūī bēō-dā-, lē, -dālē | āiroi bāitinā |
| thou beatest (past) | nāng châk-tāng-lâ | nāng bēō-dā | nangloī bāitinā |
| he beat (past) | lā châk-tāng-lâ | jī bēō-dā | kamāi roi bāitinā |
| we beat (past) | ne-tūm châk-tāng-lâ | ānūīmī bēō-dā | hāigoiroi bāitinā |
| you beat (past) | nāng-tūm châk-tāng-lâ | nāngūīmī bēō-dā | nanghnūgoiroi bāitinā |
| they beat (past) | lā-tūm châk-tāng-lâ | jīmī bēō-dā | mājkāiroi baitinā |
| I shall beat | ne châk-jī | ānūī bēō-gū | āiroi bāini |

[LSI pp. 432-449]

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## NĀGĀ-KUKI SUB-GROUP

**184** Just as the Nāgā-Bodo language bridges over the gulf between Angāmi, Nāgā and Kachāri, so the Nāgā-Kuki group bridges over that between Angāmi and the Kuki languages of Manipur. It has a number of dialects, but about three, viz, Sopvomā, Tāngkhul, and Maring, fairy complete information is available. These three languages exhibit a regular gradation in the change of speech. Sopvomā is most nearly connected with the Western Nāgā languages, and Maring with Kuki ones, while Tāngkhul occupies an intermediate position.

All the languages of this group have their homes in the north of the Manipur State. [LSI p. 451]

### SOPVOMĀ OR MĀO NĀGĀ

**185** The Māos inhabit the country South of Angāmi. Their language is so closely connected with all the languages of the Western sub-group, that it might with equal propriety be classed as belonging to it as to the Nāgā-Kuki one. [LSI pp. 451-452]

*Nouns*: *Gender*. The nouns of relationship, as usual, have special words to indicate gender. Thus, *a pū*, 'father'; *a-pē*, 'mother'. In some cases gender is indicated by adding suffixes, *fodo*, meaning 'male', and *kru*, 'female'.

*Number*. There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The usual plural suffix is *-inūi*, 'all', as in *apū-inūi*.

*Case*. The nominative takes *-nā* when it is the subject of a transitive verb. Thus, *yi-nā dāi*, 'I strike'.

The accusative and the genitive take no suffix. The genitive is simply prefixed to the noun signifying the thing possessed. Thus, *a-pū chilā-mai-nā*, 'my father's servants'. [LSI pp. 453-454]

*Adjectives*. Adjectives usually, but not always, follow the noun they qualify. They do not change for gender or number.



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When a case suffix is added to the noun, it comes after the adjective. Thus, *pūtomai kāyi kali-hī*, 'to a good man'. [LSI p. 454]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I is *yi* : for 'thou' is *ni* ; and for 'he, she, it' is *hana* or *po*.

The personal pronouns change for diflerent cases. [LSI pp. 454-456]

*Verbs.* As in other cognate languages, the sense of time in finite verbs is very loosely felt. Once a tense base is formed it does not change for number or person.

The present tense is formed by suffixing *-ē* to the base. Thus, *bōē* he lives. The usual past suffix is *-ē*, -the same as in the present. Thus, *pē-ē* (or with euphonic *w*) *pē-w-ē*, '(he) said'. Suffix *-de* is also used to form the past. The suffix of the future is *-lē*, as in *dā-lē*, '(I) shall strike'.

*Passive voice.* There is no passive voice. The force of the passive is thus expressed, *-āi dāi*, 'beats me', i.e., 'I am beaten'. [LSI pp. 456-458]

## TĀNGKHUL

186 Tāngkhuls belong to the Luhūpā tribes. They inhabit the hills to the north-east of the Manipur Valley. [LSI p. 463]

*Articles.* The indefinite article is *āka* which follows the noun it qualifies as in *mi āka-na*, 'a certain man'. There is no definite article. Its place is supplied by the demonstrative pronoun *chi*, 'that', as in *āgata chi-na*, 'the younger brother'. [LSI p. 463]

*Nouns : Gender.* Gender among human beings is indicated by different words ; thus, *ā-vā*, 'father' ; *ā-va*, 'mother' ; Gender in animals is indicated by addition of the suffixes *-āla* and *-va* ; thus, *sigui*, 'horse' ; *signi-āla*, 'mare'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. Number is only indicated when the context renders it necessary. In that case *bing* is used with human beings.

*Case.* Cases are formed by the addition of suffixes.

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As usual the nominative can optionally take the suffix *-na*. It always does so before transitive verbs. Thus, *mi āka-na*, 'a certain man'.

[LSI p. 464]

*Adjectives.* The adjectives usually follow the noun they qualify, and do not change for number. The adjectival prefix is *ka-* or *kha-*, which is usually dropped particularly when comparison is involved. Thus, *ka-phā*, 'good' ; *phā-ka-mai*, 'better'.

When used as a predicate the adjective may be conjugated as if it were a verb, as in *mi hi kathema-na*, 'man this wise-is, this man is wise'.

[LSI pp. 464-465]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *i* ; for 'thou' is *na* ; and for 'he' is *ā*. The plural of each is formed with the addition of *-thum*. Thus, *i-thum*, 'we'. The pronouns are declined for case.

[LSI p. 465]

*Verbs.* The tense suffixes are used in a loose way. As usual, there is no distinction between present and past time, the sense being left to be discovered from the context. The only real distinction is between future and non-future time.

The present is formed by adding the suffix *-a*, as in *sho-w-a*, 'beats'. The past is also formed by adding *-a*, after consonants and *-i* after the vowels *ā* or *a*. Thus, *sho-w-a*, 'struck'. The future tense, as in Mikir, takes two suffixes. It takes *-ra* to form a distant future, and *-ga* to form an immediate future. Thus, *sho-ra* or *sho-ga*, 'will strike'.

The imperative is formed by adding the suffix *-lu*, as in *sho-lu*, 'strike'.

The verbal noun or infinitive is formed by the preffix *-ka* or *-kha*, as in *ka-sho*, 'to strike'.

*Passive voice.* There is no passive voice. 'I am struck' is rendered 'struck me', *i-li sho-sāi*.

[LSI pp. 465-467]

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## MARING

187 The Maring tribe generally inhabit a few small villages on the Hiron range of hills, which separates Manipur from Burma. There is also a Maring colony at Lai Ching, in Manipur Valley, about 25 miles south of Manipur town.

Maring is one of the Nāgā Kuki languages, which most nearly approaches the languages of the Kuki-Chin group.

[LSI PP. 472-473]

*Pronunciation.* The consonants *r* and *l* are freely interchanged, the former being used after a vowel, as in Kabui. Thus, *lal*, 'wealth' but *nai-ral*, your 'wealth'. The vowels *o* aud *aū* are interchangeable. Thus, *ro* or *raū*, the suffix of the locative case.

[LSI p. 473]

*Nouns : Gender.* The natural gender is expressed by words denoting gender in the case of human beings and by suffixes -(*a*-) *pā*, 'male', and -(*a*-) *pūi*, 'female', in the case of animals. Thus, *ūi-pā*, 'dog' : *ūipūi*, 'bitch.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plural, as usual, is only indicated when this is rendered necessary by the context. The suffix for plural of human beings is-*ānām* and of other animals (*ka*-) *chūng*.

The pronouns form their plural differently.

*Case.* The cases are formed by the addition of suffix as usual. [LSI pp. 473-474]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives do not change for gender, number or case. The suffix of the adjective is *-ba*, which is usually dropped, particularly where comparison is involved. Thus, *thangai-ba*, 'good' ; *ane thangai*, 'better' ; *name-ran ane thangai*, 'better than all, best'. [LSI p. 474]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *kai* ; for 'thou' is *nang* ; and for 'he' is *a*. The pronouns are, as a rule, declined regularly. [LSI pp. 474-475]

*Verbs.* The conjugation of the Maring verb is more definite than that in the other members of the group. Each tense has its

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own suffix, and the general scheme of conjugation is adhered to very fairly.

The verb substantive has two forms *oi* and *lai*, both of which are conjugated quite regularly.

The most common suffix of the present tense is *-lē*, as *ūm-lē*, 'strikes'. The suffix of the future is *-ro*, as *ūm-ro*, 'will strike' The most common suffix of past is *-lā*, as *ūm-lā*, 'struck'. Other suffixes are *-khaū*, *-khaū-lā* and *-orā*. These suffixes are also used for imperfect, perfect and pluperfect.

The suffixes of imperative are *-lak* and *-wā* ; thus, *ūm-lak*, 'strike' : *chā-wā*, 'go'.

*Passive voice*. There is no passive voice, as usual. 'I was struck' is rendered 'struck me', *kai-yā ūm-lā*.

*Causal verb*. The use of the suffix *-ni*, added to the nominative, seems to change an intransitive verb to a transitive one. Thus, *chā-orā*, '(he) went' ; but *napāwa hai-bā-ni chā-ora* ; 'that man sent (him)'. [LSI pp. 475-476]

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## 188 LIST OF STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE LANGUAGES OF THE NĀGĀ-KUKI SUB-GROUP

| *English* | *Sopvoma* | *Tangkhul Nagā* | *Maring Naga* |
|---|---|---|---|
| one | kali | khatka | khat |
| two | kāhẽ | khani | khani |
| three | kosa | khatum | khiyūm |
| four | pādai | mati | fili |
| hand | ubbā | pāng | *kh*ūt |
| foot | upfi | phai | āho |
| head | uppi | kui | ālū |
| a father | apū kali | āvā āka | pāwā khat |
| of a father | apū kali | āvā ākawui | naipā khat dai |
| to a father | apū kali hĩ | āvā ā kali | naipā khat-ro |
| two fathers | apū kā hẽ | āvā khani | naipā khanī |
| I am | yinā soē | i-na | kai oilē |
| thou art | nēnā soē | na-na | nang oilē |
| he is | hananā soē | ā-na | ā oilē |
| we are | i krunā soē | ithum-na | kana oilē |
| you are | nilēkrunā soē | na-na, mathum-na | nāna oilē |
| they are | poilē krunā soē | ā thum-na | āna oilē |
| I was | yinā soē | ina sāsāi | kaina oikaū |
| thou wast | nilēnā soē | nana sāsāi | nangna oikhaū |
| he was | hananā soē | āna sāsāi | āna oikaū |
| we were | ikrunā soē | ithumna sāsāi | kāna oikhaū |
| you were | nilēkrunā soē | nathumna sāsāi | nāna oikhaū |
| they were | poilēkrunā soē | āthumna sāsāi | āna oikhaū |



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| *English* | *Sopvomā* | *Tāngkhul Naga* | *Marīng Naga* |
|---|---|---|---|
| I shall be | yi nolē | ina sāra | kai oiro |
| I beat | yinā dāî | ina showa | kaina ūmlē |
| thou beatest | nēnā dāwā | nana showa | nangna ūmlē |
| he beats | hananā dāi | āna showa | āna ūmlē |
| we beat | ıkrunā dai | ithumna showa | kāna ūmlē |
| you beat | nilēkrunā dāi | nethumna showa | nāna ūmlē |
| they beat | poilēkrunā dāi | āthumna showa | āna ūmlē |
| I beat (past) | yinā dābbē | ina showa | kaina ūmlā |
| thou beatest (past) | nēno dābbēwā | nana showa | nangna ūmlā |
| he beat (past) | hananā dai | āna showa | āna ūmlā |
| we beat (past) | ikrunā dāi | ithumna showa | kāna ūmlā |
| you beat (past) | nilēkrunā dāi | nathumna showa | nāna ūmlā |
| they beat (past) | poilēkrunā dāi | āthumna showa | āna ūmlā |
| I shall beat | yinā dālē | ina shora, shoga | kaina ūmro |

[LSI pp. 480-497]

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## THE KACHIN GROUP

189 The Singphōs or Kachins are a numerous race, covering a large area, from Upper Assam across Northern Burma beyond the Chinese boundary into Yünnan. Only a small portion of them live within the territory included in the linguistic survey, in the Lakhimpur district of Assam. A few Singphōs are also returned from Sibsagar.

The Kachin dialects may be divided into three classes, the Northern, Kaori and the Southern Kachin. They differ, to some extent, in vocabulary. But most points of disagreement are due to different pronunciation and the use of different prefixes. The whole structure of the language is, on the other hand, the same in all these dialects.

The northern or the Assamese Singphō is the only dialect which falls within the limits of this survey.

The Kachin dialects have many points of resemblance with the Kuki-Chin languages, especially Meithei, and with the Nāgā and Bodo languages. Thus, the numerals and personal pronouns correspond to forms found in those dialects. A comparison of the grammatical features of Kachin and other Tibeto-Burman languages shows the same relation. The general tendencies and the whole structure is identical in all. We even find the same prefixes and suffixes used in Kachin and in other Tibeto-Burman dialects.

But there are also many points of difference. More especially, Kachin has developed a copious system or verbal suffixes, which is more akin to Burmese than to the dialects mentioned above. In one essential part, Kachin differs from Burmese and from the neighbouring dialects in the west. The Kachin system of tones is quite peculiar to itself. Kachin has five or six tones. This



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richness in tones shows that Kachin is more closely connected with Tibetan, and that it must be classed as a link between that language in the north, the Nāgā and Kuki-Chin languages in the west, and Burmese in the south. [LSI pp. 499-504]

## ASSAMESE SINGPHŌ

190 *Pronunciation.* *å* is the sound of *a* in 'all', and *ui* the French *ui* in 'huit'. The vowels *a* and *e* are often interchangeable; thus, *kashā* and *keshā*, 'young'. The consonants *t* and *d* are often interchangeable; thus, *deng* and *teng*, 'then'.

The accent generally rests on the penultimate, but on the last syllable in adjectives beginning with *ga*; thus, *ga-jå*, 'good'. Compound verbs carry the accent of the last root, thus, *bai-lū*, 'find again'. Singphō is rich in tones. No attempt has been made to note the tones in writing. [LSI pp. 505-506]

*Articles.* The numeral *ai-mā*, 'one' is used as an indefinite article: thus. *sīng-phō ai-mā*, 'one man'. Sometimes *ai-mā* is used alone. But often no article is used. There is no definite article. Definiteness is indicated by demonstrative pronouns and relative particles. [LSI pp. 505-506]

*Nouns: Gender.* The gender is only apparent in the case of animate nouns. In the case of nouns of relationship it is indicated (*a*) by the use of different words; (b) by prefixing *lā-shā*, 'male', and *nūm-shā*, 'female'; (c) by suffixing *wā*, 'male', and *jan*, 'female', and a few other suffixes. Thus, *lā-shā-māng*, 'son'; *nūm-shā māng*, 'daughter'; *rūm-dū-wā*, 'master'; *nūm-dū jan*, 'mistress'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. Number is only marked when it is not evident from the context. The plural is indicated by adding some word meaning heap, crowd, etc., such as *ni*, *bok*, *theng*, *yōng*.

*Case.* The cases are formed by suffixes.

The genitive always precedes the noun on which it is dependent. The nominative generally, and the accusative often

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takes no suffix. The suffix *-i* denoting the agent, is usually added to the subject of a transitive verb. The vocative is expressed by the simple stem, or by adding the participle *ē*. The suffix of the genitive is often dropped. [LSI pp. 506-507]

*Adjectives.* Comparison is expressed by putting the noun in the ablative case, or adding *ńlō*, 'thou'. Thus, *gūm-rāng nan* (or *n'lo*) *ga-bā*, 'a horse than large'.

The superlative degree is expressed in the same way, with *yōng-a*, 'all'. [LSI pp. 507-508]

*Numerals.* Singphōs can count up to 10,000 ; above that they use terms, such as 'very many'. There are no ordinals. [LSI p. 508]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns for 'I' is *ngai* ; for 'thou' is *nāng* ; for 'he, she, it' is *khī*.

Pronouns are inflected in the same way as substantives.

There is no relative pronoun. The participle ending in *dai* is used as a relative participle. Thus, *Dhonirām-goi mari-dai kinsū*, 'the cow which was bought from Dhaniram'. Sometimes the interrogative pronoun is used as a relative. [LSI p. 508]

*Verbs.* Verbs do not change for gender, number, or person. The mere root is freely used to denote the different tenses. But the different tenses are also formed by suffixes.

The suffix of the present tense is *-dai*, in form identical with demonstrative pronoun ; thus, *dā-dai*, 'does'. This form is also commonly used as a historical present ; thus, *kinsū māt-dai*, 'the cow was lost'.

The suffix of the past tense is *-hā*, to which *dai* may be added. Thus, *bai-lā-hā*, 'brought back'.

The suffix of the future tense is *-ā*, in the first person also *gâ* ; thus, *khi sā-ā*, 'he will go' ; *ngai wā-gâ*, 'I will say'.

The suffix of the imperative is *-ū* ; thus, *jā-ū*, 'give'.

Any word may be treated as a verbal root and conjugated throughout ; *rai*, 'thing, matter', *rai-dai*, 'is false'. A noun, or,

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if dissyllabic, its last syllable, is occasionally repeated in the verb ; thus *manan-nau-dī*, dancing'.

Compound verbs are very extensively used.

[LSI pp. 508-509]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, direct object, indirect object, verb. In interrogative sentences the indirect object usually precede the direct. Adjectives and numerals generally follow, but occasionally precede the noun. Adverbs generally precede adjectives and verbs. [LSI p. 509]

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## 191 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES OF SINGPHŌ

| *English* | *Singphō* |
|---|---|
| one | ai |
| two | n'khong |
| three | masūm |
| four | malī |
| hand | latā |
| foot | lagōng |
| head | bōng |
| a father | wā |
| of a father | wā-nā |
| to a father | wā-goi |
| two fathers | wā n'khong |
| I am | ngai ngā |
| thou art | nāng ngā |
| he is | khī ngā |
| we are | ī ngā |
| you are | nī ngā |
| they are | khī-nī ngā |
| I was | ngai ngā hā |
| thou wast | nāng ngā hā |
| he was | khī ngā hā |
| we were | ī ngā hā |
| you were | nī ngā hā |
| they were | khī-nī ngā hā |
| I shall be | ngai ngā-â |
| I beat | ngai dūp |

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| *English* | *Singphō* |
|---|---|
| thou beatest | nāng dūp |
| he beats | khī dūp |
| we beat | ī dūp |
| you beat | nī dūp |
| they beat | khī-nī dūp |
| I beat (past) | nāng dūp-hā |
| thou beatest (past) | nāng dūp-hā |
| he beat (past) | khī dūp-hā |
| we beat (past) | ī dūp-hā |
| you beat (past) | ní dūp-hā |
| they beat (past) | khī-nī dūp-hā |
| I shall beat | ngai dūp-ā |

[LSI pp. 519-527]

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# VOL. III, PART III

## TIBETO-BURMAN FAMILY

## KUKI-CHIN AND BURMA GROUPS

LSI—37

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# KUKI-CHIN GROUP

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

192 The languages of Kuki-Chin group are spoken in regions from the Naga Hills in the north down into the Sandoway District of Burma in the South ; from the Myittha river in the east, almost to the Bay of Bengal in the west.

The denomination Kuki-Chin is a purely conventional one, there being no proper name comprising all these tribes. The words Kuki and Chin are synonymous and are used for many of the hill tribes in question. The former is a Bengali or Assamese term and the latter Burmese ; both applied to the hill tribes of the area.

The Kuki-Chin languages are closely connected with all the surrounding groups of the Tibeto-Burman family, the Bodo and Naga languages to the north, Kachin to the east, and Burmese to the east and south. More particularly, they form a link which connects Burmese with the Bodo and Naga languages, having, especially in the north, many relations with the Kachin dialects, which in their turn, from another chain between Tibetan and Burmese. These languages may be classed as intermediate between Burmese and Tibetan, though much more closely connected with the former than the latter.

The Kuki-Chin languages must be sub-divided in two branches Meithei and the Kuki-Chin languages proper.

### 1. MEITHEI

193 Meithei is the chief language of the Manipur valley, and has apparently had a long and independent development. It has developed into a literally language. Not much information is available regarding this dialect. But it is clear, that it has preserved some traces of a more ancient stage of phonetical development. It sometimes agrees more closely with Burmese, and even with Tibetan, than with the Kuki-Chin languages proper.



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## 2. THE KUKI-CHIN LANGUAGES PROPER

**194** All the dialects of this group are evidently derived from one form of speech, which might be styled the Old Chin language, its home being probably the Chin and Lushai Hills. The dialects of this group can be divided into the following sub-groups :

1. Northern Chin, comprising Thādo, Soktē, Siyin, Rāltē, and Paitē. Rāltē and Paitē form the link connecting the northern and central Chin languages.

2. Central Chin, comprising Zahao, Lushēi (including Ngentē), Lai, Banjōgī and Pānkhū.

3. Old Kuki, comprising Rāngkhōl, Bētē, Hallām, Langrong, Aimol. Chiru, Kolren, Kōm, Chå, Mhār, Anāl, Hiroi-Lamgang and Pūrūm. All these are mere dialects of one language, which may be called by the customary name of old Kuki. It is closely related to central Chin languages.

   Anāl and Hiroi largely, and Pūrūm not to the same extent, are largely influenced by Meithei.

   Kōm, Anāl, and Hiroi-Lagmāng show a closer connection with Naga Languages, than other dialects of Kuki-Chin group.

4. Southern Chin, comprising Chinmē, Welaung, Chinbōk, Yindu, Chinbōn, Khyang or Shö and Khami. Several tribes living in Burma also belong to this group. Our information about these dialects is very limited, Khyang and Khami being the only ones which have been satisfactorily dealt with. The chief peculiarity of this group is the gradual approximation to Burmese.

*General character of Kuki-Chin languages proper.* The Kuki-Chin languages, and originally all Tibeto-Burman languages, evince a strong tendency to avoid abstract terms. Their words are usually the expressions of individual conceptions, and not of abstract ideas. There are different words for different kinds of deer ; thus, Lushēi *sa-khi*, 'a barking deer' ; *sa-zuk*, 'a sambhar', etc., but no general words for deer. Even words, such as brother and sister are usually wanting. There are words for elder sister, younger sister, a man's sister, a woman's sister, own sister, but no word for 'sister' generally.

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The substantial character of Tibeto-Burman verb is very apparent in Kuki-Chin languages. The mere root, that is the theme of the verbal noun, is commonly used to denote present and past times; the future is usually formed by adding a postposition, which often also occurs after ordinary nouns with the meaning 'for', 'in order to'.

The verbs in these languages are, also in other respects, subject to the same general rules as ordinary nouns.

The verbs are, as a rule, never conceived in the abstract, but are always put in relation to some noun as their subject. This is effected in the same way as with ordinary nouns, by prefixing possessive pronouns, so that the expression 'my going' is used instead of 'I go.'

The Kuki-Chin adjectives are formally verbs, and many, like other verbs, be used to indicate the predicate, or like relative participles, to qualify a noun. [LSI pp. 1-19]

## MANIPURĪ OR MEITHEI

195 Meithei, the chief language of Manipur, differs from the other Kuki-Chin languages in so many points that it must be classed as a separate group. It has largely influenced the dialects of other tribes spoken in the Manipur State.

Manipurī is, to some extent, a literary language. A few MSS are available. A national chronicle is still kept in the old character, which has been now entirely superseded by Bengali, by the guild of priests, 'maibees' as they are called, in which every event of importance occurring in the country is regularly recorded. [LSI pp. 20-24]

*Pronunciation.* The consonants *b* and *p*; *d* and *t*; *g* and *k*; *r* and *l* seem to be interchangeable in such a way that the soft consonants are used after a vowel, the hard ones after a consonant, *r* being considered as the soft doublet of *l*. *B*, *d*, *g* and *r* never occur as finals. The rule regarding the use of these consonants is, therefore, the same as in Burmese, where, however, the sound *r* does not exist, there being accordingly nothing corresponding to the interchange between *r* and *l*.

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Voiced aspirates and cerebrals are foreign to the language. At least two tones occur, but no description is available.

[LSI pp. 24-25]

*Articles.* There are no articles. The numeral *a-mā*, 'one', supplies the place of an indefinite article, while definiteness is denoted by means of demonstrative pronouns and relative participles. [LSI p. 25]

*Nouns.* Nouns denoting relationship and parts of the body are usually preceded by a possessive pronoun. Thus, *i-pā*, 'my father'.

*Gender.* The gender is based on animate inanimate differentiation. Different words are generally used to distinguish the gender of human beings ; thus, *ma-pā*, 'his father', *ma-mā*, 'his mother'. The words, *ni-pā* and *nu-pi* in the case of human beings, and *lā-bā* and *a-man*, in the case of animals are added to the words to distinguish their gender.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plural is indicated by means of suffixes, which in the case of human beings is *-sing* or *-sīng* ; thus, *ma-māi-sīng*, 'his servants'.

*Case.* The different cases are indicated by means of suffixes and postpositions. However, no suffix is necessary for the nominative. Thus, *mi a-ma-gi ma-chā ni-pā a-ni lai-ram-mi*, 'man one-of his sons two were'. The accusative is also formed without any suffix. [LSI pp. 25-26]

*Adjectives.* Almost all adjectives are in form relative participles ending in *-bā* or *-nā*. The suffix *-bā* is occasionally changed to *-bi* in the feminine. An *a-* is often prefixed apparently without altering the meaning ; thus, *a-pha-bā* and *pha-bā*, 'good'. When an adjective is used as a verb it takes the common verbal suffixes ; thus, *wāng-i*, 'he is tall'. Adjectives sometimes precede and sometimes follow the noun they qualify. [LSI pp. 26-27]

*Numerals.* The numerals follow the noun they qualify. Suffixes and postpositions are added to them, and not to the qualified noun. [LSI p. 27]

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*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns for 'I' are *ai*, *i-hāk* ; for 'thou' are *nang*, *na-hāk* ; and for 'he, she, it' are *mā*, *ma-hāk*. The forms *i-hāk*, *na-hāk* and *ma-hāk* are used in honorific sense.

There are no relative pronouns. The relative participle ending in *-bā* is used instead. [LSI pp. 27-28]

*Verbs.* Verbs are not inflected in person and number.

There is often no difference between the present and the past tense. The root alone seems occasionally to be used to denote both, thus, *nang oi*, 'then out' : *ma-yāma-dā pi*, 'his-elder-brother-to (he) gave'. But generally one of the suffixes *-i*, *-ī*, *-ē*, *-ni*, *-lī*, *-li* and *-lē* is added.

The suffix of the future is *-ga*, probably identical with post-position *gā*, 'with'. The suffix *-e* or a word *ni*, probably meaning 'to be', is generally added. Thus, *ai-oi-ga-ni*, 'I shall be'.

The suffixes of the imperative are *-u* and *-lu* ; thus, *pūl-u*, 'bind' and *chat-lu*, 'go'.

Postpositions are added to the verbal noun in *bā*, and in this way adverbial clauses are formed. Thus, *māng-lu-ra-ba-da-gi*, 'lost-having-been-after, after he had been lost'.

The adverbial participles may be formed by adding suffixes or postpositions to the verbal noun ending in *bā*. Often, however, the various forms of the verb are used in the same way as the verbal noun. Thus, *chat-li-ngai-dā*, 'went-time-at, at the time of going'.

There is no passive voice. *Ai-bu-phū-i*, 'I was struck', means literally 'me he struck', or 'me concerning striking-took-place'.

Compound verbs are freely used. Causatives are formed by infixing *-hal-* or *-han-* ; thus, *set-hal-lu*, 'cause him to put on'. [LSI pp. 28-30]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, direct object, indirect object, verb. [LSI p. 30]

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## 196 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES IN MEITHEI (MANIPUR)

| *English* | *Meithei (Manipur)* |
|---|---|
| one | a-mā |
| two | a-ni |
| three | a-hūm |
| four | ma-ri |
| hand | khut |
| foot | khong |
| head | kok |
| a father | ma-pā a-mā |
| of a father | ma-pā a-ma-gi |
| to a father | ma-pā a-ma-dā |
| two fathers | ma-pā a-ni |
| I am | ai oi |
| thou art | nang oi |
| he is | mā oi |
| we are | ai-khoi oi |
| you are | na-khoi oi |
| they are | ma-khoi oi |
| I was | aioi-ram-i |
| thou wast | nang oi-ram-i |
| he was | mā oi-ram-i |
| we were | ai-khoi oi-ram-i |
| you were | na-khoi oi-ram-i |
| they were | ma-khoi oi-ram-i |
| I shall be | ai oi-ga-ni |
| I beat | ai-nā phū-i |
| thou beatest | nang-nā phū-i |
| he beats | mā-nā phū-i |
| we beat | ai-khoi-nā phū-i |

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| *English* | *Meithei (Manipur)* |
|---|---|
| you beat | na-khoi-nā phū-i |
| they beat | ma-khoi-nā phū-i |
| I beat (past) | ai-nā phū-rē |
| thou beatest (past) | nadg-nā phū-rē |
| he beat (past) | mā-nā phū-rē |
| we beat (past) | ai-khoi-nā phū-rē |
| you beat (past) | na-khoi-nā phū-rē |
| they beat (past) | ma-khoi-nā phū-rē |
| I shall beat | ai-nā phū-ga-ni |

[LSI pp. 45-54]



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# CHIN GROUPS

## INTRODUCTION

**197** The word Chin is generally used to denote the various tribes inhabiting the country to the east of the Lushai Hills from Manipur in the north to about the eighteenth degree of north latitude in the south. On the east their country is bounded by Burma. The word Chin is supposed by some authorities to be corruption of the Chinese *jēn*, 'a man'. It is used by the Burmese to denote all hill tribes, and is thus also applied to Kachins.

Nothing is known about the early history of these tribes. They are now rapidly becoming Burmanised. [LSI pp. 55-58]

## NORTHERN CHIN SUB-GROUP

### THĀDO

**198** The Thādos, who formerly lived in the Lushai and Chin Hills, are now chiefly settled in Manipur, in the Naga Hills, and in the south Cachar.

The Thādos are a migratory race, and do not occupy their villages for more than two or three years at a time, when they move on to a new place, more fit for cultivation. [LSI pp. 59-62]

*Pronunciation.* Concurrent vowels are often contracted. Thus, *a-pān*, for *a-pā-in*, 'his father-by'; *lon* for *lo-in*, 'take'. Final consonants are often silent; thus, *mū* and *mūk*, 'see'. [LSI pp. 63-64]

*Articles.* There are no articles. The numeral *khat*, 'one', is used as an indefinite article and definiteness is expressed by means of pronominal prefixes, demonstrative pronouns and relative clauses. [LSI p. 64]



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*Nouns : Gender.* Gender is based only on animate-inanimate differentiation. The gender of human beings is indicated by means of separate words of suffixes. Thus, *pā*, 'father' ; *nū*, 'mother'. The usual suffixes are, in the case of human beings, *pā*, 'male' and *nū*, 'female' ; and in the case of animals, *chal* or *a-chal*, 'male' ; *nū* or *a-nū*, 'female'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural, suffixes such as *-ho* and *-tē* are added. Thus, *a-soūk-ho*, 'his servants' ; *ka-pā-tē-ho*, 'my-fathers'.

*Case.* The nominative and the accusative do not take any suffix. The genitive is indicated by putting the governed before the governing noun ; thus, *ka-pā soūk*, 'my father's servants'. Other relations are indicated by means of postpositions.
[LSI p. 64]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives usually follow, but occasionally also precede the noun they qualify. *-pi* or *-pē* and *-chā* are added, also in nouns, in order to convey the idea of greatness or smallness, respectively. Thus, *a līn-pi*, 'very great, great' ; *nēyaū-chā*, 'very small, small'. [LSI p. 64]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun (s) for 'I' are *keī-ma*, *kei* ; for 'thou' are *nang-mā*, *nang* : and for 'he, she, it' is *a-mā*.

There are no relative pronouns. The root alone, without any suffix, is used as a relative participle. Thus, *laū lhū mi*, 'field cultivating man, a cultivator'.

The demonstrative pronouns are often used as a correlative ; thus, *kei chan-ding sēl-a-sūm a-mā- pēn*, 'I getting property that give', *chan-ding* is a verbal noun, consisting of *chan*, 'to get', and the postposition *ding*, 'for'. Other verbal forms may be used in the same way. [LSI pp. 65-66]

*Verbs.* Verbs are conjugated in person by means of pronominal prefixes. These are *ka*, 'I and we' ; *na*, 'thou and you' ; *a*, 'he, she, it and they'. The prefixes are often dropped before the imperative and in interrogative sentences, and apparently always in future,

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The root alone without any suffix is apparently used to denote present and past time. The suffix *-ē*, is, however, usually added ; thus, *ka-thi-dē-dē-ē*, 'I-to-die-about-am'.

The common suffix of the past tense is *-tā* or *-tāve*, *-tē* and *-tāi*. Thus, *a-hom-pē-tā*, 'he-divided-gave'.

The suffixes of the imperative are *-in* and *-tān*. Thus, *soom-in*, 'bind', *hūng-tān*, 'come'.

The future is formed from the imperative and is characterised by the absence of pronominal suffixes. The forms ending in *-in* or *-ing*, *-tān* or *-tāng* and *-nāng* are used as the base of this tense. The suffix *-e* is added in the first person ; thus, *chēng-ē*, 'I will go'. *-te* is added in the second and third persons, and is, in the second person, preceded by pronominal suffix *-na* ; thus, *nāng-in wo-nāng-na-tē*, 'thou wilt strike'.

The root alone, without any suffix, is used as an infinitive or verbal noun ; thus, *kei-ho nūi-lē nup a-fangēlē*, 'our merry-and-glad-being good is'.

There is no passive voice. 'I am struck' must be translated 'somebody strikes me'.

Compound verbs are formed in order to modify the meaning of the primary verbs. Thus, *hūng-lhē-in*, 'coming running, running towards'. [LSI pp. 66-68]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. [LSI p. 68]

## SIYIN

**199** The Siyins occupy the hills round Fort White to the east of the Soktēs. To the north they are bounded by the Kanhow clan and to the south by the Tashōns. [LSI p. 73]

*Pronunciation.* The dialect seems to be rich in vowels. A kind of ö, lying between ō and ö occurs. There are apparently at least two tones, one long and broad, and one short and shārp. But most words seem to be pronounced in what is called the natural tone. [LSI p. 73]

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*Articles.* The numeral *khat*, 'one', is used as an indefinite article, and demonstrative pronouns supply the place of a definite article.

[LSI p. 73]

*Nouns : Gender.* Gender is based on animate-inanimate differentiation. When necessary it is denoted by means of suffixes. The male suffixes are *-pā*, for human beings, and *-tal* for animals. The corresponding female suffixes are *-nū* and *-pui*. Sometimes, in the case of nouns of relationship, different words are used ; thus, *pā*, 'father' ; *nū*, 'mother'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plural suffix is *-tē*.

*Case.* The cases are denoted by means of different suffixes, except the genitive, which is denoted by putting the governed before the governing noun.

[LSI p. 73]

*Adjectives.* The adjectives follow the noun they qualify. The suffix of the comparative is *-zâ*, and that of the superlative *-bil*.

[LSI p. 74]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *kē-mā* ; for 'thou' *nang-mā*, *nā-mā*, *nō-mā*, and *nang* ; and for 'he' *amā*. Shorter forms of personal pronouns occur as prefixes.

[LSI p. 74]

*Verbs.* Pronominal prefixes are generally used before verbs in order to denote the person of the subject. They are *ka*, *kī*, 'I' ; *ka*, *ku*, 'we' ; *na*, *nī*, 'thou, you' ; *a*, 'he, they'.

The verb substantive *hī* seems to be added to all tenses. The root, with this addition, is used to denote present and past tense. The suffixes of the past tense are *-yō* and *-la*, to which *-hī* or *-wē* is added.

The suffixes of the imperative are *-o*, plural *-wō*, *-tān*, *-tēo*, and *-tēun*.

The root alone is used as a relative participle, prefixed to the qualified noun. Adverbial participles are formed by a kind of reduplication ; thus, *ka-kap*, 'crying'.

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There is no passive voice. Instead of saying 'I am struck' we must say 'he struck me'. Sometimes, however, verbs, such as *ngat*, *dō*, and *khām*, 'to suffer', are used, and sentences are formed, such as *hong-vāt kē-mā ka-ngat hi*, 'striking I suffer'.

Compound verbs are used in order to modify the meaning of the principal verb. They supply the place of adverbs, as in all connected languages,

[LSI p. 74]

## RĀLTĒ

200 The Rāltē dialect is spoken in the Lushai Hills between Tui Dan and Dhaleswari to the south of Vanbang, and in Cachar Plains. [LSI p. 75]

*Pronunciation.* When *o* is followed by a vowel a euphonic *v* is inserted, thus, *lo-v-a*, 'in the fields'. After *m* we occasionally find a euphonic *m* inserted; thus, *a-lut-nuam-m-o-va*, 'he-to-enter-wished-not'. The aspirated liquids (i.e. corresponding fricatives) do not occur. [LSI pp. 75-76]

*Articles.* There are no articles in the language. The numeral 'one', and indefinite pronouns are used instead of an indefinite article; pronominal prefixes, demonstrative pronouns, or relative particles supply the place of a definite article. [LSI p. 76]

*Nouns: Gender.* Gender is based on animate-inanimate differentiation. Gender is not distinguished when no ambiguity can arise.

*Number.* There are two numbers, singular and plural. The number of the subject of a sentence is indicated by the pronominal prefix. When it is necessary to indicate the plural, the suffix *-ke* is used.

*Case.* The nominative is formed without any suffix; thus, *na nao a hong-tung-a*, 'your younger brother he came back'. The genitive is denoted by the bare stem preceding the governing word; thus, *ro ka-chan-ai*, 'of the property my share.' [LSI p. 76]

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*Adjectives.* Adjectives follow the noun they qualify, and case suffixes are added to them, not to the qualified noun ; thus, *khâ-lam la-tak-a*, 'into a very distant country'. The suffix of the comparative degree is *-zâk* or *-zok*, and that of the superlative *-ber*. [LSI p. 76]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun(s) for 'I' are *kei, ka* ; for 'thou' is *na* ; for 'he' are *a-ni, a*. The forms *ka*, 'thy' *na*, *a*, and *ka-u*, 'we', and *a-u*, 'they' are used as pronominal prefixes also.

There is no relative pronoun, its place being supplied by the use of participles or verbal nouns [LSI p. 77]

*Verbs.* Verbs are conjugated in person and number by means of pronominal prefixes. When the subject is a neuter noun the prefix *a-* is also used to denote the plural ; thus, *vok-in a chak*, 'the pigs ate'.

The root alone is freely used to denote the present and past tenses ; thus, *a hi*, 'he is or was'. The particle *e* may be added ; thus *a hi-e*, 'he is'.

The suffix of the past tense is *-ka, -ka-a* ; thus, *a kel-ka-a*, 'he went'.

The suffix of the future is *-ing, -ing-a*, thus, *katho-v-ing-a*, 'I will arise'.

The infinitive is formed without any suffix ; thus, *chak-vah*, 'to eat'.

There is no passive voice. *Ka-mu-leh-ka u a-hi*, 'he was found again', literally means 'we saw him again it is,' 'we certainly saw him again'.

Compound verbs are freely used and suffixes are then added to the last component. Thus, causatives are formed with *-tik* ; thus, *han-bun tik-u-a*, 'cause him to wear'. Desideratives are formed with *nuanu*, 'to wish'. [LSI pp. 77-78]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, direct object, indirect object, verb. The genitive precedes the governing word. Adjectives and numerals follow the word they qualify.

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Demonstrative pronouns seem to be put at the beginning of the clause. [LSI p. 78]

## PAITĒ

**201** The number of speakers of the dialect is very small, who live in the North Lushai hills. There is now no village in the North Lushai hills composed of people speaking Paitē, but there are a few speakers in every Lushai village. [LSI p. 81]

*Articles.* There are no articles in the language, indefinite pronouns and the numeral *pa-khat*, 'one', being used as an indefinite article, and pronominal prefixes, demonstrative pronouns, or relative participles, supplying the place of a definite article. [LSI p. 81]

*Nouns: Number.* There are two numbers, singular and plural. When the plural is marked, the suffix *-te* is used; thus *boi-te*, 'slaves'.

*Case.* Except the locative the nouns are not declined for case. The locative is formed by adding the suffixes, *-in* and *-a*; thus *lai-in*, 'time at'; *lo-v-a*, 'fields in'. The genitive is formed by prefixing the stem to the governing word; thus, *a vok an*, 'his pigs' food'. The vocative takes no suffix, but the interjection *he* may be prefixed; thus, *pa* or *he-pa*, 'a father'. [LSI pp. 81-82]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives follow the noun they qualify, and case endings are added to them and not to the qualified noun; thus, *gam la-tak-a*, 'country distant-very-to'. The suffix of the comparative is *-zâ*, *-zâh*, 'more', and of the superlative *-bar*, 'very, most'. Thus, *lian-zâh*, 'bigger'; *hoi-ber*, 'best'. [LSI p. 82]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun(s), for 'I' are *ke*, *ka*; for 'you' is *na*; for 'he' are *a-ma*, *a*. The forms *ka*, *na*, *a*, *ka-u*, 'we', *a-u*, 'they', are used as pronominal prefixes.

There is no relative pronoun. Participles and verbal nouns are used instead; thus, *na ta-pa nâ-chi-zuak lak-a na sum ne-zo-vek-tu*, 'your son harlots with your property spent-entirely-who. [LSI p. 82]

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*Verbs.* Verbs are conjugated in person and number by means of pronominal prefixes. The verb is inserted between the two parts of the plural prefixes ; thus, *ka mu-non-ta-u*, 'we saw again'.

The root alone is used to denote present and past tense ; thus *a hi*, 'it is'. The suffix *-a* is usually added ; thus *ka-hi-a*, 'I am'.

The suffixes of the past tense are *-ta* and *-ka* ; thus *a thei-ta-a*, 'he heard'.

The suffix of the future is *-di*, *-di-a* ; thus, *ka-chi-di*, 'I will say'.

The infinitive or verbal noun is formed without any suffix ; thus, *om* 'to remain'. Postpositions and adverbial expressions are often added, and in this way adverbial clauses are effected ; thus, *na-shen-in*, 'work doing-in working'.

The compound verbs are very extensively used. Thus we find the verbal prefixes *hong* 'up', as in *hong-tho*, 'rise up' ; *on*, 'towards', as in *on-la*, 'bring', etc.

There is no passive voice. Instead of 'I am seen', we must say 'somebody sees me'. [LSI pp. 82-83]



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## 202 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE NORTHERN CHIN SUB-GROUP

| *English* | *Khongzāi (of Manipur)* | *Thādo (Nāga Hills)* | *Kuki of Cachar (Campbell)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| one | khat | khat | khāt |
| two | ni | ni | ni |
| three | thūm | thūm | tūm |
| four | li | li | li |
| hand | ka-khot | khot (khūt) | khut |
| foot | ka-kēng | ka-khīn (kēng) | keng |
| head | ka-lūchang | luchang | lu |
| a father | ka-pā khat | ke-pā | nā-pā khāt |
| of a father | ka-pā khat-ā | ke-pā | nā-pā |
| to a father | ka-pā khat-hēng | ke-pa-hē | nā-pā hing a |
| two fathers | ka-pā a-ni | ke-pa te-ni | nā-pā ni |
| I am | kai ka-hē | keyi ka-ūmi | x |
| thou art | nang na-hē | nang na-umi | nang-mā nā-um-ē |
| he is | a-mā a-hē | hichē a-hi | ā-mā ā-um-ē |
| we are | kai-ho ka-hē | ke-ho ka-ūmi | kē-ha kā-um nāi |
| you are | nang-ho na-hē | nang-ho (n) a-ūmi | nāng-ha nā-um-ē |
| they are | a-mā-ho na-hē | hichē-ho a-ūmi | ā-mā-haā-um-ē |
| I was | kei ka-haiyē | kei kā-umi | kēi-jin kā-umēi |
| thou wast | nang na-hai-yē | nang nā-umi | nāng nā-um-in |
| he was | ā-mā a-haiyē | hichē ā-umi | ā-mā ā-um-in |
| we were | kei-ho ka-haiyē | kei-ho kā-umi | kē-hā kā-um-ēi |
| you were | nang-ho na-haiyē | nang-ho ā umi | nāng-ha nā-um-in |
| they were | a-mā-ho a-haiyē | hichē-ho ā umi | ā-mā-ha a-um-in |
| I shall be | kei hi-nāng ē | kē ke-hi | kei-ma hing-kā-te |

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| *English* | *Khongzai (of Manipur)* | *Thādo (Nāga Hills)* | *Kuki of Cachar (Campbell)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| I beat | kein ka-wē | ken ka-voi | kei-jin kā-chā |
| thou beatest | nang-in na-wē | nang-in ne-voi | nāng-in chā-in |
| he beats | a-mān a-wē | hichē a-voi | ā-mān ā-chā-in |
| we beat | kei-hon ka-wē | ke-hong vongē | kē-han kā-chā-un |
| you beat | nang-hon na-wē | nang-ho vongē | nāng-han nā-chā-un |
| they beat | a-mā-hon a-wē | hi-te-ho a-voi | ā-mā-han ā-chā-un |
| I beat (past) | kein ka-wa-tē | x | x |
| thou beatest (past) | nang-in na-watē | x | x |
| he beat (past) | a-mān a-wa-tē | x | x |
| we beat (past) | kei-hon ka-wa-tē | x | x |
| you beat (past) | nang-hon na wa-tē | x | x |
| they beat (past) | a-mā-hon a-wa-tē | x | x |
| I shall beat | kein wo-nāng -ē | ken vong-ē | kei-jin chā -ing-ē |

[LSI pp. 88-105]

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## CENTRAL CHIN SUB-GROUP

**203** The languages of this group are closely connected with the northern group, but have still greater affinity to the so-called old Kuki dialects. The chief point of difference, when compared with old Kuki, is the negative particle, which is *lo* in the central languages as in Thādo, but usually *māk* in old Kuki. Pānkhū is the dialect which is most closely connected with old Kuki.

[LSI p. 107]

### ZAHAO OR YAHOW

The tribes generally called Tashōns live in the Chin hills to the south of the country inhabited by the Siyins and the Soktēs. To the west they are bounded by the Lushai hills and to the south by the Lai. They include the two powerful communities of Zahao or Yahow and Wheno, which were formerly known as Pois, Poi-tē, and Pai-tē. The language of the Zahaos or Yahows is described below. [LSI pp. 107-108]

*Pronunciation.* An *h* after a vowel seems to denote the so-called abrupt tone, as in *thluh*, 'completely'. Concurrent vowels are sometimes contracted ; thus, *pa in* or *pa-n*, 'by the father'. A euphonic *v* is inserted between *o* and a following vowel ; thus, *deo-v-in*. [LSI p. 109]

*Articles.* There are no articles. The numeral *pa-khat*, 'one', and indefinite pronouns may be used as a kind of indefinite article, while pronominal prefixes, demonstrative pronouns, and relative phrases supply the place of a definite article. [LSI p.109]

*Nouns : Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plural is not marked, when it appears from the context.

*Case.* Generally the noun is declined for case, instead post-positions are used to indicate relations. The genitive is denoted



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by putting the stem, without any suffix, before the governing word ; thus, *ro ka chan-ding*, 'property of my share'. But usually the suffix *-i* is added. [LSI p. 110]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives follow the noun they qualify, and case suffixes are added to them and not to the qualified noun. Thus, *khâ-lam lha tak-a*, 'country far very-to'. The suffix of the comparative is *-shân*, and that of the superlative is *-bik*, 'most', thus, *tha-bik*, 'best'. [LSI p. 110]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns for 'I' are *kei*, *ka* ; for 'thou' are *nang-ma*, *na* ; and for 'he' are *a-ma*, *a-ni*, *a*. The forms *ka*, *na*, *a*, *kan*, 'we' and *an*, 'they' are used as pronominal prefixes with verbs.

There is no relative pronoun. The demonstrative pronouns are used as a kind of correlative ; thus, *ziang-mâ kâm vok-in an ei kha*, 'whatever food the pigs they ate, that'. [LSI pp. 110-111]

*Verbs.* Verbs are conjugated in person and number by means of pronominal prefixes. Pronominal prefixes are usually dropped before the imperative, and when the subject is an interrogative pronoun.

The root alone is freely used to denote present and past tenses. Thus, *a tha*, 'it good is' ; *a nie*, 'he had'. The suffixes *-i*, *-hi*, and *-shi*, all various forms of the verb substantive, may be added ; thus, *a-ti-i*, 'he said' ; *a-shi-hi*, 'he is'. The suffixes of the past tense are *-ta* or *-tak* and *-â* ; thus *a fe-ta-i*, 'he went'.

The suffix of the future is *-kei* ; thus, *ka tho-kei-i*, 'I will arise'. This tense is also used in interrogative sentences to denote what might be, just like the German future. Thus, *chu ziang ha shi kei*, 'that, what is it ?'

The suffix of the imperative is *-â*, *-âh* or *-o* ; thus, *pe-â*, 'give'.

The root alone is also used as an indefinite or verbal noun. Thus, *ei-puar-a duh-em-em-i*, 'to eat-his-fill he wished-much'.

There is no passive voice. *Kan mhu-leh-ta a-shi-hi*, 'by us seen again he is', means literally 'we saw him again it is'.

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Compound verbs are formed by means of prefixes or by suffixing other words. Thus, *hon*, signifies motion upwards or towards; *rak*, signifving motion away and towards; *va*, signifying motion from. Thus, *hon-la*, 'go and bring'. Causatives are formed by suffixing *-shak* or *-tir*; thus, *thah-shak*, 'to cause to kill'. Desideratives are formed by adding *-duh*; thus, *lut-duh*, 'to wish to enter'. [LSI pp. 111-112]

## LAI

**204** The Lais extend from the Burma frontier on the east to the Lushai country on the west. The clans which call themselves Lai are Hakas, Tlantlangs (or Klang-klangs), Yokwas, Thettas, Kapis, and many of the southern villages. Dialects of the Lai language are spoken by the surrounding tribes, and nearly all of them also understand the standard form of speech. The Lais have no written literature, but a large number of national songs, called *lha*, are current among them. [LSI pp. 115-116]

*Pronunciation.* Lai has *f*, *r* and *th*, which are all wanting in Southern Chin. Aspirated sounds are very common in Lai; thus, we find *kh*, *ngh*, *th*, *dh*, *ph*, *lh*, *mh*, *nh*, *rh*, and *wh*. The final consonants are very often faintly pronounced or modified. Thus, *thīā*, 'property', for *thīl*; *sā*, forehead, for *sal*, etc. Lai and Southern Chin have *kl*, where Lushēi and connected languages have *tl*. [LSI pp. 116-117]

*Articles.* There are no articles. The numeral *pö-kat*, 'one' is used as an indefinite article, and pronominal prefixes, demonstrative pronouns, and relative clauses supply the place of a definite article. [LSI p. 117]

*Nouns : Gender.* Gender is based on animate-inanimate differentiation. It is sometimes distinguished by using different words; thus *pa*, 'father'; *nū*, 'mother'. These words are also used as suffixes to indicate the gender. Thus, *mī-pa*, 'man'; *mī-nū*, 'woman'. In the case of animals several suffixes are used.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. It is not marked when it appears from the context. When it is necessary to denote the plural some word meaning 'great', 'many', 'multitude' is added.

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*Case.* Usually suffixes are used to indicate different cases. The nominative and the accusative do not take any suffix. The genitive is expressed by simply putting the governed before the governing noun ; thus, *vok râi*, 'pig's food'. [LSI pp. 117-118]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives usually follow, but occasionally also precede, the noun they qualify. The suffix of comparison is *nâk-in* ; comparative degree is marked by adding *dēyū* ; and the superlative by adding *cyīk* or *bhīn*, 'very', to the positive. Thus, *nang-ma nāk-in amma a-shan dēyū*, 'thee than he tall-more, he is taller than you' ; *nyang-byīk*, 'youngest'. [LSI p. 118]

*Numerals.* The numerals seem to be generally preceded by the generic prefix *pō* ; thus, *mī-pa pō-kat*, 'one man'. Other generic prefixes are *pūm*, which is used for round things, and *pōrr*, used for loads and bundles. [LSI p. 118]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun (s) for 'I' are, *kē-ma, kē* ; for 'thou' are *nang-ma, nang ;* and for 'he, she, it' is *amma.* The forms *kan, kā* or $k^a$, 'I', *kan-*, 'we', *nan, nā* or $n^a$, 'thou', *nau*, 'you', *an* or *a*, 'he, she, it', and *an*, 'they', are used as pronominal prefixes with verbs.

There are no relative pronouns. Relative participles and noun of agency are used instead, and the demonstrative pronoun *chu* may be used as a kind of correlative.

[LSI pp. 118-119]

*Verbs.* Verbs are conjugated in person and number by means of pronominal prefixes.

The root alone without any suffix is freely used to denote present and past tenses, ; thus *kē-ma* $k^a$*-ding*, 'I drunk' ; *a-ngē*, 'he had'.

The prefix of the past tense is *-sang* ; $k^a$ *ding-sang*, 'I drank'.

The suffix of the future is *-lai* ; thus, $k^a$*-kal-lai*, 'I will go'. The suffix *-nga* is often combined with *-lai* ; thus, *tai-twin* $k^a$*-ka-nga-lai*, 'tomorrow I will go'.

The root alone is used as an infinitive or verbal noun ; thus *ē a-dū*, 'to eat he wished' ; *kal khān-nā*, 'going before, before you go'.

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There is no passive voice. Instead of 'I was struck by him', we must say, 'he struck me'.

Compound verbs are freely used. The compound verbs are formed by means of prefixes and by adding other words modifying the sense or meaning. For example, *di* means 'to finish', 'to complete' ; *ding* means 'worthy', 'for'. *Ko* gives different meanings. Used alone, it seems only to give emphasis ; thus, *a-thūt-ko* 'he is sitting'. With *len-* prefixed *ko* denotes continuation of action, and with *da* means 'why'. Thus *an-kâ-len-ko*, 'he entreated continually' ; *a-ka-da-ko*, 'why, he has gone'.

Verbs are sometimes formed from nouns by adding *th*. Thus, *fa*, 'child' ; *fāth*, 'to breed' ; *vār*, 'husband' *vāth*, 'to marry a husband'. [LSI p. 119-122]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, direct object, indirect object, verb. [LSI p. 122]

## LUSHĒI OR DULIEN

**205** Several languages are spoken in Lushai hills. But the principal language throughout the hills is Lushēi or Dulien, which is also commonly understood by the Zahaos and the Rāltēs. This language is also spoken in the south-west corner of the Cachar plains.

Standard Lushēi is well known. There is no written literature. But several tales and songs are current. [LSI p. 127-129]

*Pronunciation.* Final vowels of words and syllables are generally long. *g* as an initial sound only occurs in foreign words. The liquids *l*, *m*, *n*, *r*, can be aspirated, and are then followed by *h*. When *h* is placed at the end of a syllable or word, it denotes that the sound must be abruptly shortened. An euphonic *v* is inserted after a word ending in *o* or *oh*, when a vocalic suffix is added. Thus, *lo*, field, *lo-v-ā*, 'in the field'. [LSI p. 130]

*Articles.* The indefinite article is the numeral *pa-khat*, 'one'. Demonstrative pronouns or relative participles supply the place of the definite article. [LSI p. 130]

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*Nouns : Gender.* Gender is based on animate-inanimate differentiation. The same word often denotes beings of different gender, when no ambiguity ensues. Gender is distinguished in the case of nouns of relationship by different words or by suffixing *-pā* for masculine, and *-nū* for feminine. Thus, *fa-pā*, 'son *fa-nū* 'daughter'. Proper nouns of the masculine gender end in *a*, and those of feminine gender in *i*

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The number is not indicated when it appears from the context.

*Case.* The simple stem is commonly used to denote the cases of the subject, the direct and indirect object, the vocative and the genitive. Different suffixes are used to denote the other cases.

[LSI p. 131]

*Adjectives.* The comparative degree is formed by adding *-zok*, *-zâk* to the positive. Thus, *nao-pang-zok*, 'the younger'. The particles of comparison are *aiin aiia* or *nhēk-in*. The superlative may also be formed by adding *ber*, 'very most', to the positive ; thus *pūan ṭhā ber*, 'the best cloth'.

[LSI pp. 131-132)

*Numerals.* There is only one generic prefix *pa-*, occurring in the first nine numerals, which is often dropped, when the numerals qualify a noun, except when the human beings are spoken of.

[LSI p. 132]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns for 'I' are *kei-mā kei-ka* for 'thou' are *nang-mā*, *nang*, *i* ; for 'he' she, it' are *a-mā*, *a -ni*, *a*.

The forms *ka*, *i*, *a*, *kan*, 'we' *in*, 'you' and *an*, 'they', are used as pronominal prefixes.

When any of the compound forms of the demonstrative pronouns is used, the noun they qualify is placed between the two components ; thus, *he khūa hi*, 'this village'.



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There is no relative pronoun. The idea of relative pronoun is expressed by using relative particles or verbal nouns.

[LSI pp. 132-133]

*Verbs.* Verbs are conjugated in person and number by means of pronominal prefixes.

The root alone is freely used to denote present and past tenses ; thus *eng-an-tī*, 'what (do) they do ?' *a-ti*, 'he said'.

The past tense is also formed by adding the suffix *-tā* or *-tâ* ; thus *a-pem-tā*, 'he migrated'.

The suffix of the future is *-ang* ; *ka-kal ang*, 'I will go.' The future is also used to denote what is presumed to be true ; thus, *a-ni-ang-e*, 'it may be.'

The infinitive or verbal noun is identical with the root ; thus, *ei*, 'to eat'. The verbal noun is also formed by adding the suffix *-nā* ; thus, *a-om-nā-khua*, 'his being village, the village in which he was'.

In reality, there is no passive voice, as different from the active. *In*, the suffix of the agentive case, when added to the subject, shows that the verb must be translated as active.

Compound verbs are in very common use. The principal prefixes are *zuk-* (motion downwards) : *han-* (motion upwards and towards the speaker) ; *lō-*, ron- (motion towards) and *va-* (motion on level ground). Causatives are formed by adding the verb *tīr*, 'to cause' ; thus, *kal-tīr*, 'to cause to go, to send'.

Potentiality is indicated by the verb *thei* 'to be able' ; thus, *ka-kal-thei-loh-ve*, 'I go cannot'. [LSI pp. 133-134]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, indirect object, direct object, verb. In interrogative sentences the direct object generally precedes the indirect one. Demonstratives are put at the beginning of the sentence. A genitive is generally placed immediately before the governing noun. Adjectives usually follow the noun they qualify. Adverbs are placed before adjectives and after verbs.

[LSI p. 134].

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## NGENTĒ

206 The Ngentē dialect is spoken in the South Lushai Hills, chiefly among the Tangluas who reside in the villages round Demagiri, and also in many of the western Howlong villages.
[LSI p. 139]

*Pronunciation.* The pronunciation seems to agree with the standard Lushēi. A euphonic *v* is inserted between *o* and a following vowel; thus, *heo-v-a-nā*, 'all-it-is'. Final consonants are occasionally silent; thus *na* and *nāt*, 'to be'; *-ta* and *tak*, the suffix of the past tense. [LSI p. 139]

*Articles.* The numeral *pa-khat*, 'one' is used as an indefinite article. Relative clauses supply the place of a definite article.
[LSI. p. 139]

*Nouns : Number.* There are two numbers, the singular, and the plural. The number is not marked when it appears from the context.

*Case.* The formation of cases is the same as in standard Lushēi. The genitive is expressed by putting the governed before the governing noun. [LSI. p. 139]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives follow the noun they qualify, and suffixes and postpositions are added to them and not to the qualified noun; thus, *muang-tak-in*, 'happiness-great in, happily.' The suffix of the comparative is *zâk*, and of the superlative *-ber*. A kind of superlative is also effected by repeating the adjective; thus, *puan tha-tha*, 'cloth good-good, the best cloth'.
[LSI pp. 139-140]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I, my', is *ka*; for 'thou, thy' is *i*; for 'you' is *in*; for 'he, it', is *a* and for 'they, their' is *an*. All these forms are also used as pronominal prefixes.

There are no relative pronouns. The root alone is used as a relative participle; thus, *ka fin-lo-lei-in*, 'I wise-not time-at'.
[LSI p. 140]

*Verbs.* Verbs are conjugated in person and number by means of pronominal prefixes.

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The base alone, without any suffix, is freely used to denote the present and past tenses. Thus, *ka rhiat*, 'I hear'; *a ti*, 'he said'. The suffixes *-a* and *-ka* may be added, apparently without changing the meaning; thus, *ka om-a*, 'I am'; *a nat-ka-chu*, 'it is indeed'.

The suffix of the past tense is *-ta* or *-tāk*; thus, *ka mhu-le-ta*, 'I saw again'.

The suffix of the future is *-in*; thus, *ka-ti-in*, 'I will say'.

The root alone, without any suffix, is used as an infinitive or verbal noun. Thus, *bu fāk a tum-a*, 'food to eat he wished'.

There is no passive voice. Instead of 'he was seen again' we find 'I saw him again' we find 'I saw him again', etc. When the subject of a transitive verb is not distinguished by the suffix of the agentive, the meaning becomes passive.

Compound verbs are freely formed in order to modify the meaning. Thus, *hâng-thlen*, to-come-home-arrive, to come back'; *hâng-chhuak*, 'to-come-go-out, to come out'. *fâk shen*, 'to eat-finish, to eat up'. Causatives are formed by adding *tir*; thus, *bun-tir*, 'to cause to put on'. [LSI pp. 140-141]

*Order of words.* As in standard Lushēi. [LSI pp. 140-141]

## BANJŌGĪ

**207** The Banjōgīs are a small tribe residing in the Chakma and Boh Mong chiefs' circles in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. [LSI pp. 144-145]

*Articles.* There are no articles. The numeral *pa-khat*, 'one', is used as an indefinite article, and demonstrative pronouns or relative clauses supply the place of a definite article. [LSI p. 146]

*Nouns.* Nouns denoting relationship or parts of the body are usually preceded by the prefix *kā*. This *kā-* is, however, probably the possessive pronoun of the first person. Banjōgīs being, like most other connected tribes, incapable of conceiving the idea of such words without reference to some person.

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*Gender.* Gender is based on animate-inanimate differentiation. In the case of animate beings it may be distinguished by using different words; thus, *pā*, 'father', *nū*, 'mother'. The common suffixes are, in the case of human beings, *pā*, 'male'; and *nū*, 'female'. In the case of animals they are *chāl*, 'male', *nū* and *nū-nā*, 'female'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The number of a noun is not denoted when it appears from the context. The plural may be marked by adding some word meaning 'many', such as *tām* and *ngāi*. Both may be combined; thus, *kā pā tām ngāi*, 'fathers'.

*Case.* The nominative and the accusative do not take any suffix. The genitive is expressed by putting the governed before the governing noun; thus, *kā pā bū-lō-mi-tōn-ā*, 'my father's servants to'. Other relations are expressed by means of postpositions. [LSI p. 146]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives generally follow, but occasionally precede, the noun they qualify. Postpositions and suffixes are added to the adjective, and not to the qualified noun, if the adjective follows.

The suffix of the comparison seems to be *-ngāk-in* and *-dau*, which is added to the adjective. Comparative and superlative are also denoted by adding *-ngāi*, 'very'; this *ā-sā-ngāi*, 'better, and best'. [LSI pp. 146-147]

*Numerals.* Numerals usually follow, but occasionally precede, the noun they qualify. [LSI p. 147]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns for 'I' are *kēi-mā*, *kēi*, for 'thou' are *nang-mā*, *nang*; and for 'he' are *ā-mā*, *ā-ni*, *an*. The forms *kā*, 'I'; *kan*, 'we'; *nā*, 'thou'; *nan*, 'you'; *ā*, 'he, she, it'; *an*, 'they', are used as pronominal prefixes.

There are no relative pronouns. They are expressed in the same way as in Lai by means of relative participles. [LSI p. 147]

*Verbs.* Verbs are conjugated in person and number by means of pronominal prefixes.

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The root alone, without any suffix, is freely used to denote present and past tenses Thus, *zei-men nan ti*, 'what do you do?'; *ā-mā-ni ā-sim*, 'he said'.

Suffixes *-ro* and *-kā* are used to form the past tense; thus *kēī-ma kā-kāl-ro*, 'I went'; *kā-sim*, 'he said'.

The suffix of the future is *lai*, as in Lai. Thus, *kēī-mā kā si-lai*, 'I shall be'.

The root alone, without any suffix, is also used as an infinitive or verbal noun; thus, *ā hōng-law-ā*, 'his coming-time-at, at the time when he came'.

Compound verbs are freely used. The prefix *hōng-* denotes motion towards the speaker; *na*, motion from the speaker. Thus, *hōng-pu*, 'bring here'; *na-fōn*, 'to go and join'. Causatives are formed by adding *tar* or *ter*; thus, *ai-tar*, 'to cause to wear' *kal-ter*, 'to cause to go, to send'. The suffix *-kho* denotes ability, *-nōl* means 'again'; and *-zak* means 'much', etc. and so on.

[LSI pp. 148-149]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words seems to be subject, direct object, indirect object, verb.

[LSI p. 149]

## PĀNKHŪ

208 Pānkhū is spoken in the Chakma and Boh Mong chiefs' circles in the Chittagong Hill Tracts. [LSI p. 152]

*Articles.* The numeral *khāṭ-kā*, 'one', is used as an indefinite article. Definite article is indicated by using demonstrative pronouns or relative clauses. Thus, *o-mā inn-ā*, 'that house in, in the house'. [LSI p. 153]

*Nouns : Gender.* Gender appears to be based on animate—inanimate differentiation. In the case of animate beings it is sometimes distinguished by using different words and sometimes by the use of suffixes. The common male suffix is *pā*, and the corresponding female one is *nū*. Thus, *mi-pā*, 'man'; and *mi-nū*, 'woman'.

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*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. It is only indicated when it does not appear from the context. Several words, all apparently meaning 'many', 'much', 'all' etc , are added in order to denote the plural.

*Case.* The nominative and the accusative do not take any suffix. The genitive is denoted by putting the governed before the governing noun ; thus, *kā-pā sūa-pūi nao*, 'my father's brother's son, the son of my uncle'. The suffix *-in*, denoting the agent is generally added to the subject of the transitive verb. Other relations are denoted by means of postpositions.

[LSI pp. 153-154]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives usually follow, but occasionally also precede, the noun they qualify. In the former case postpositions and suffixes are added to the adjective and not to the qualified noun. Thus, *rum dang-a*, 'country other to'. The suffix of comparison is *nak-an* or *nak-a chun* ; thus *o-ma* (i.e. *a-ma*) *nak-an a-cha*, 'that than good, better'. The superlative is formed in the same way, but *nal* is added to the adjective. [LSI p. 154]

*Numerals.* The numerals generally follow, but occasionally also precede, the noun they qualify. The prefix *pa-* is a generic particle. It is not used when the numeral refers to money ; its use in the case of human beings seems to be optional. [LSI p. 154]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns for 'I' are *kei-mā, kei ;* for 'thou' are *nang-ma, nang* ; for 'he' are *ā-mā, ā-ni, an, ni-ha.* The forms *kā* or *ke*, 'I', *kan*, 'we', *nā*, 'thou' ; *min*, 'you' ; *ā*, 'he' ; *an*, 'they' are used as pronominal prefixes.

There are no relative pronouns. Their place is supplied by the use of relative participles and the nouns of agency ; thus, *ā kal-nā rūm*, 'he going country, the country into which he went'.

[LSI pp. 154-155]

*Verbs.* Verbs are conjugated in person and number by means of pronominal prefixes.

The root alone is freely used to denote present and past tenses. Thus, *kei-mā kā chāng*, 'I am' ; *ā pēk*, 'he gave'.

The suffixes of past tense are *-tā* and *-roa* ; thus, *kā chūan-tā*, 'I did'.

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The suffix of the future is *-ti* and the pronominal prefixes are inserted between the root and the suffix. Thus, *kei-mā chāng-kē-ti*, 'I shall be', lit. 'I be' 'I say'.

The root alone is used as an infinitive or verbal noun; thus, *nāo-w-in rūat māk-ro*, 'song among to consider cease'.

There is no passive voice. 'I am struck' must be translated 'he struck me'.

Compound verbs are formed by means of prefixes and by adding other words in order to modify the meaning. The prefix *hong-* denotes motion towards speaker; and *ni-* seems to denote direction from the speaker. Causatives are formed by adding *pūi*, 'to help, to assist'; thus *ā kal-pūi*, 'he brought'. Other words added in order to form compounds are *pi*, 'all'; *zo*, all; *zai*, 'to finish'. [LSI pp. 155-156]

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209 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE CENTRAL CHIN SUB-GROUP

| *English* | *Lai* | *Lushēi* | *Banjōgī (Chittagong Hill Tracts)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| one | pö-kat | pa-khat | pa-khat |
| two | pö-ni, pö nhit | pa-nhih | pi-ni ~ pa-nhi |
| three | pö-thüm | pa-thum | pa-tun |
| four | pö-lī | pa-lī | pi-li ~ pa-li |
| hand | kūt | kut | kā-bān ~ kūt |
| foot | kē | kephah | kā-kē |
| head | lū | lū | lū |
| a father | pa pö-kat | pa pa-khat | kā-pā pa-khat |
| of a father | pa pö-kat | pā pa-khat | pa-khat pā |
| to a father | pa pö-kat hē | pā pa-khat nhenā | pa-khat pā |
| two fathers | pa pö-nī | pā pa-nhih | kā-pā pi-ni |
| I am | kē-ma $k^a$-shī | kei-māka-ni | kei-mā (kā-shī) |
| thou art | nang-ma $n^a$-shí | nang-mā i-nī | nang (nā-shi) |
| he is | amma a-shī | ā-mā a-nī | anni (ā-ni ā-shī) |
| we are | kan-nī kan-shī | kei-mā-nī kan-nī | kan-ni (kan shi) |
| you are | nan-nī nan-shī | nang-mā-nī in-nī | nang-ni (nan shi) |
| they are | an-nī an-shī | an-mā-nī an-nī | anni mroi (?) |
| I was | $k^a$-ūm-sang | ka-nī | kei chū-tini si |
| thou wast | $n^a$-ūm-sang | i-nī | nang chū-tini si |
| he was | a-ūm-sang | a-nī | anni chū-tini si |
| we were | kan-ūm-sang | kan-nī | kanni chū-tini si |
| you were | nan-ūm-sang | in-nī | nan-ni chū-tini si |



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| *English* | *Lai* | *Lushēi* | *Banjōgī (Chittagong Hill Tracts)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| they were | an-ūm-sang | an-nī | an-ni chū-tini si |
| I shall be | $k^a$-shī-lai | ka-om-ang-e, ka-nī-ang-e | kei-mā kā si-lai |
| I beat | $k^a$-veḷ, ke-ma-ne $k^a$-vēḷ | ha-vēl | kei-mā-ni kā-vūak |
| thou beatest | $n^a$-vēḷ | i-vēl | nang an (i.e. nā) vūak |
| he beats | a-vēḷ | a-vēl | an-ni a-vūak |
| we beat | kan-vēḷ | kan-vēl | kan-mā-ni kan-vūak |
| you beat | nan-veḷ | in-vēl | nan-mā an (i.e. nan) vūak |
| they beat | an-vēḷ | an-vēl | an-ni an vūak |
| I beat (past) | $k^a$-vēḷ-sang | ka-vēl | x |
| thou beatest (past) | $n^a$-vēḷ-sang | i-vel | x |
| he beat (past) | a-vēḷ-sang | a-vēl | x |
| we beat (past) | kan-vēḷ-sang | kan-vēl | z |
| you beat (past) | nan-vēḷ-sang | in-vēl | x |
| they beat (past) | an-vēḷ-sang | an-vēl | x |
| I shall beat | $k^a$-vēḷ-lai | ka-vēl-ang | kei-mā-ni kā vūak-lai |

[LSI pp. 160-179]

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## OLD-KUKI SUB-GROUP

210 The Old-Kuki sub-group comprises several dialects, which are so closely connected that they cannot have had a long independent development of their own. The dialects of this group are Rāngkhōl, Bētē, Hallām, Langrong, Aimol, Chiru, Kolrēm, Kōm, Châw, Mhār, Pūrūm, Anāl and Hirōi Lamgāng. There are not sufficient materials to give a grammatical sketch of Bētē and Chaw.

The whole sub-group is very closely related to the Central Chin languages.

### RĀNGKHŌL

211 The Rāngkhōls or Rengkhāls are now found in Hill Tippera and North Cachar. [LSI pp. 181-182]

*Pronunciation.* A soft consonant in many cases corresponds to a *tenuis* in connected languages of the group. Thus, *gē-mā*, Hallām *kei-mā*, 'I'; *gēl*, Hallām *kēl*, 'goat' etc. The soft consonants often represent a more ancient stage of phonetical development. Hard and soft consonants are, however, sometimes interchangeable in the same word. Thus, *gē* and *kē*, 'foot'; *goi* and *koi*, 'call'. The real sound of such consonants is, therefore probably, something between hard and soft. They are hard *lenes*. [LSI pp. 182-183]

*Articles.* There are no articles. The numeral *kāt*, 'one' may be used as an indefinite article, while definiteness may be expressed by means of demonstrative pronouns and relative clauses.

*Nouns.* Nouns denoting relationship, and parts of the body are apparently always preceded by pronominal prefixes, Thus, *ga-ū-pā*, 'elder brother', lit., 'my elder brother'.

*Gender.* There are two genders, animate and inanimate. It is only distinguished in the case of animate beings. In the case of human beings different words may be used. Thus, *mi-rim*, 'man';



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*nū-reng*, 'woman'. The common suffixes used to distinguish gender among human beings are *pā* and *bā-sāl*, 'male', *nū* and *nū-ping* 'female'; and in the case of animals are *ā-jāl*, 'male' *ā-nū-pāng*, 'female'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. No suffix is used when the number appears from the context. When it is necessary to distinguish the plural, the suffix *hai* is added.

*Case.* The base alone, without any suffix is used as a nominative, an accusative and a vocative. This form is apparently also used when the noun is the subject of a transitive verb; thus, *mī-rim-hai būhōm ā-tā*, 'the-men the paddy they-have-cut'. The genitive is denoted by putting the governed before the governing noun; thus, *ga-pā-tēr bā-sāl*, 'my uncle's son'. Other relations are indicated by means of suffixes and postpositions.

[LSI pp. 183-184]

*Adjectives.* The adjectives follow the nouns they qualify, and suffixes are added to them, and not to the qualified nouns.

The suffix of the comparative is *-ōl* and of the superlative is *-tāk*. These can be optionally omitted. [LSI p. 184]

*Numerals.* The numerals follow the noun they qualify. [LSI p. 184]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns for 'I, my' are *gē-mā*, *gē*, *gā*: for 'thou' are *nang*, *nang-mā*; and for 'he, she, it' are *ā-mā*, *mī*.

The forms *gē* and *go*, 'I'; *gēn*, *gin*, *gan*, and *gē*, 'we'; *nī*, and *nē*, 'thou'; *nin* and *nē*, 'you'; *ā*, 'he, she,it'; *ā* or *an*, 'they' are used as pronominal prefixes.

There is no relative pronoun. Participles and interrogative pronouns are used instead. (LSI p. 185]

*Verbs.* Verbs may be conjugated in person and number by means of pronominal prefixes. The prefixes are apparently very often dropped, and *ā* may be substituted for all of them.

The root alone without any suffix is freely used to denote present and past tenses; thus, *gē fē*,'I go'; *ā-mā-hai ā-ti*, 'they

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said'. The suffix of the past tense is *-tā*, *a tāt-tā*, 'he killed'. The suffix of the future is *rāng*, probably identical with the infinitive suffix. The pronominal prefixes seem to be regularly dropped before the future. Thus, *fē rāng tī rāng*, 'I will go and say'.

The suffix of the infinite or verbal noun is *rāng*; thus, *fa-rāng lē rāng ā sā-rāng*, 'to eat to drink good-will-be'

The passive voice may be expressed by prefixing the participle ending in *ēn-tē* or *ēn jū* to the verb *ni*, 'to be'; thus, *ā-gōi-ēn-jū ā-ni*, 'I am called', lit, 'he calling it-is'. This form seems, however, to be very rare, and the passive voice is commonly not distinguishable in form from the active but can only be recognised from the context.

Several prefixes are used in forming the compound verbs. *Hōng* denotes motion towards the speaker. *Ir* or *er* makes the verb causative; thus, *mu*, 'see'; *er-mū*, 'show'. Causatives are also formed by adding the verb *pēk*, 'to give'; thus, *en*, 'to see', *en-pē-rō*, 'show'. A potential is formed by adding the verb *tē*, 'to be able', or 'allowed to', and so on.

Adjectives are freely used as verbs. In the present tense the suffix *-tā* is added. Thus, *ā sā-tā*, 'it good is'

[LSI pp. 185-187]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. [LSI p. 187]

## HALLĀM

212 Hallām is spoken in Hill Tipperah and Sylhet.

[LSI pp. 192-193]

*Articles.* There are no articles. The numeral *khāt*, 'one' is used as an indefinite article, while definiteness may be expressed by demonstrative pronouns and relative clauses. [LSI p. 193]

*Nouns : Gender.* Gender is based on animate-inanimate differentiation. In the case of human beings different words may be used to indicate the gender, but generally the gender is

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distinguished by means of suffixes, the male suffixes being *-pā*, and *pā-sāl*, and the female ones *-nū* and *-nū-pang*. Thus, *nāi-pā*, 'brother'; *nāi-nū*, 'sister'. When no ambiguity arises gender is not indicated.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The suffix *-ngāi* or *-ngāi-hā* is used when it is necessary to mark the plural. Thus, *pā-ngāi*, or *pā ngāi-hā*, fathers'.

*Case.* Cases, generally, do not take any suffix. The genitive may be expressed by putting the stem, without any suffix, before the governing noun. Thus, *nāi chāng*, 'the son's word'. But the governed noun may also be repeated by means of a pronominal prefix. Thus, *koṭoāl ā nāy*, 'the Kotwal his son'.

[LSI pp. 193-194]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives are placed after the noun they qualify, and suffixes and postpositions are usually added to them, and not to the qualified noun.

The particle of comparison is *nēk-in* or *nēk-a*, placed after the compared word. The adjective remains in the positive. Thus, *ā-mā nēk-in āssā*, 'that than good'. The superlative may also be expressed by adding *uol* or *tāk* to the positive. Thus, *āssā uol*, 'best'. [LSI pp. 194-195]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns for 'I' are *kei-mā*, *kei*; for 'thou' are *nang-mā*, *nang*, ; and for 'he, she, it' are *ā-mā*. *ā-ni*, *ān*. The forms *kā*, 'I'; *kān*, 'we'; *nā*, 'thou', *nān*, 'you'; *a*, 'he, she, it', ; *ān*, 'they', are also used as pronominal prefixes with the verbs. They are in general use as possessive pronouns before nouns, and before postpositions.

There is no relative pronoun. Demonstrative pronouns, participles, and interrogative pronouns are used to express relativity.

The number *in-khāt*, 'one' used as an indefinite pronoun, means a 'certain' and *khāt-lo*, 'any-one'.

[LSI pp. 195-196]

*Verbs.* Verbs are conjugated in person and number by means of pronominal prefixes.

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The root alone, without any suffix, is freely used to denote present and past tenses. Thus, *kei kāom*, 'I am'; *ā ti*, 'he said'. The suffix of the past tense is *-ta*. Thus, *ā pā kâm ā tī-tā*, 'his father to he said'. The most common way to form past tense, however, is to add the word *jēi* 'to finish'. Thus, *kei kā sē-jēi*, 'I went'. The usual suffix of the future is *-ti*. The pronominal prefixes are inserted between the root and the suffix. This form is, therefore, inserted between the root and the suffix. This form is, therefore, a compound verb. Thus, *in-thai-kā-tī*, 'arise I will'.

The suffix of the infinitive or verbal noun seems to be *-nā*; thus, *sāk-nā*, 'to eat, food'. The pronominal prefixes may be added before the infinite; thus, *kei kā jem-rāng-in ā am*, 'I am beating-for it is, I should beat'.

There is no passive voice. 'I am beaten' is expressed by 'he beats me'.

Compound verbs are formed by means of prefixes and by adding other words to modify the meaning of the primary verb. Several prefixes are in use. The prefix *mān*, 'to get', is used for form causatives. thus, *riet*, 'to hear', *mān-riet*, 'to inform'. *Va* seems to denote motion towards; thus, *ā va-kol-ā*, 'he went and embraced'. Desideratives may be formed by adding *jâṭ* or *jot*, 'wish'; thus, *lūt-jâṭ-māk*, 'to enter wished not'.

Several words have been borrowed from the Aryan languages, such as *bisār*, 'proper, fit', *gadda*, 'ass', *jodi*, 'if'.

[LSI pp. 196-198]

## LANGRONG

213 The Langrongs, are the Kukis inhabiting the Tipperah Hills, and are identicalwith the Rangkhōls. This dialect is also spoken by a few individuals in the Cachar Plains, to the south and east of the Sadr Sub-division. [LSI p. 207]

*Articles*. The numeral *khāt*, 'one', is used as an indefinite article, and demonstrative pronouns or relative clauses supply the place of a definite article. [LSI p. 208]

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*Nouns.* Gender is based on animate-inanimate differentiation. Different words, as well as, suffixes are used to denote the gender of animate beings. The suffixes in the case of human beings are *pā*, 'male' ; *nū*, 'female', and in the case of animals are *chal*, 'male' and *pūi*, 'female'. Thus, *nāi-pā*, 'son' ; *nāi nū*, 'daughter'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The suffix of the plural is *hēi* ; thus, *tēn-hēi*, 'friends'.

*Case.* The nominative, the accusative and the dative do not take any suffix. The subject of a transitive verb is usually distinguished by the suffix *-in.* denoting the agent. The genitive is expressed by putting the stem, without any suffix, or repeated by means of a pronoun before the governing noun ; thus, *nang-mā pa nāi*, 'thy father's sons' ; *mā sā-kor ā-kūm i-jā-kā-mâ*, 'this house its years how many ?' Suffix and postpositions are used to denote other relations. [LSI p. 208]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives usually follow the noun they qualify, and suffixes are then added to them and not to the qualified noun. The suffix of comparison is *nēk in* on *ning-in.* [LSI p. 208]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *kai-mā* ; for 'thou' is *nang-mā* ; for 'he' is *ā-ni*, *ān*. The forms *kē* or *kai*, 'I' ; *nā* or *nai*, 'thou' ; *nāin*, 'you' ; *ān* or *ā*, 'he, she, it' ; *an* or *ān-in*, 'they' are used as pronominal prefixes before verbs.

There is no relative pronoun. Instead participles and verbal nouns are used in relative clauses ; thus, *vâk-in phāk-nā kâk*, 'pigs-by eaten husks'. [LSI p. 209]

*Verbs.* Verbs may be conjugated in person and number by means of pronominal prefixes. The use of these prefixes is very inconsistent, and they are often dropped.

The root alone, without any suffix is freely used to denote present and past tenses. Thus, *kai-mā kāl*, 'I go' ; *kai-mā sir*, 'I have walked'.

The suffix of past tense is *-tā* ; *kai-mān kē hem-tā*, 'I struck'.

The suffix of the future is *-ding* ; thus, *kai-mā thâ-in kē pā nēng-ā kāl-ding*, 'I arising my father-to go-will'.

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The simplest form of the infinitive or verbal noun seems to be the root alone. A common suffix is *-nā*; thus, *kāl-na*, 'to go'.

There is no passive voice. The suffix *-in* after the subject of a transitive verb denotes the active. But its use is somewhat inconsistent, and its absence does not, therefore, always show that the verb is in the passive voice. The context must be consulted. Thus, *nāng-mā māi-bung hi bai-tā nūng-ā mū-tā*, 'thy brother this lost-was afterwards found-was'.

Compound verbs are formed by adding other words in order to modify the meaning of the primary verb. Causatives are formed by adding the verb *tir*; thus, *kāl-tir*, 'to cause to go, to send'. Desideratives are formed by adding *nâm*, 'to wish'; thus, *kāl nām-māk*, 'to-go-wished-not'. Other words used are *ēm-ēm*, 'exceeding'; *ja*, 'completely'; *khir*, 'back, again', etc.

[LSI pp. 209-210]

## AIMOL

214 Aimol is spoken by the small tribe in the hills round the valley of Manipur. There is small settlement at Aimol, a village in the southern part of the valley. There are stated to be small ramnants left of the tribe. [LSI p. 214]

*Pronunciation.* Concurring vowels are often contracted. Thus, *a-mā-in*, and *a-mān*, 'he'. Final consonants are usually softened when a vowel is added. Thus, *chāk*, 'eat': *chāg-ā*, 'eating'. [LSI p. 214]

*Articles.* There are no articles. The numeral *khat* or *an-khat*, 'one', is used as an indefinite article, and pronominal prefixes, demonstrative pronouns, and relative clauses are used in order to convey the idea of definiteness. [LSI p. 215]

*Nouns.* The prefixes *a-* and *ka-*, which often occur before nouns denoting relationship and parts of the body, are the possessive pronouns of the third and first persons. Thus, *a-pā*, 'his father'; *ka-char-nū* 'my sister'.

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*Gender.* Gender is based on animate-inanimate differentiation. In the case of animate nouns it is distinguished by means of suffixes, and in the case of human beings, also by using different words. The usual suffixes are, in the case of animals, *a-chal* and *chal*, 'male', and *a-pūi*, 'female'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. When it is necessary to mark the plural some word conveying the idea of plurality is added ; thus, *swok nāgi* 'servant many, servants'.

*Case.* The nominative-vocative and the accusative do not take any suffix. The genitive is often expressed by simply putting the governed before the governing noun. Thus, *ka-pā swok ngai*, 'my father's servants'. The governed noun is often repeated by means of a possessive pronoun prefixed to the governing noun. Thus, *fai-bāng a-ra-bū*, 'ant its nest, ant's nest'. Other relations are xpressed by means of postpositions. [LSI p. 215]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives are usually preceded by a prefix *a-* ; thus, *a-sā*, 'good'. The usual verbal suffixes are added when the adjectives have the function of verb ; thus, *a-sāng-yoi*, 'he is tall.

The particles of comparison are *nēg-ā* and *kārā*. A kind of superlative is effected by adding *-tak* ; thus, *pūwon a-sā-tak*, 'cloth good-much, the best cloth'. [LSI p. 215-216]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *kai* ; for 'thou' is *rang* ; for 'he, she, it' is *a-mā*. The forms *ka*, 'I' ; *kan*, *kani*, 'we' ; *na*, 'thou' ; *nan* and *nana*, 'you', *a*, 'he, she, it' ; *an* and *ana*, 'they' are used as pronominal prefixes. [LSI p. 216]

*Verbs.* Verbs are conjugated in person and number by means of pronominal prefixes described under pronouns above.

The root alone, without any suffix, is freely used to denote present and past tenses. Thus, *kai ka-ni*, 'I I-am' ; *nāi pa-sal an-ni an-om*, 'child male two they-were'.

The suffix of the past tense is *yoi*, as in Chiru. Thus, *a-sēn-pē yoi*, 'he divided gave'. It is also used to denote the present tense when the action of the verb is considered as an established fact. Thus, *ka-pā-ko in sin-ā a-om-yoi*, 'my father house small-in he-lives'.

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The suffix of the future is *-ing*, probably a postposition meaning 'for, in order to'. The pronominal prefixes are wanting before this form ; thus, *lai choi-noning*, 'fine pay-not will, I will not pay fine'.

The root alone, without any suffix, is used as an infinitive or verbal noun. Thus, *kai-ni-ko a-hoy-ā kani-om-hi a-ni-yoi*, 'we happily our remaining - this it-good-is'. The past tense ending in *-yoi* is used as a past verbal noun. Postpositions are freely added to these verbal nouns in order to form adverbial clauses. Thus, *ni a-laik-a-lak om-ā*, 'days few being-in, after a few days had passed'.

There is no passive voice. The suffix of the agent is usually added to the subject of an active transitive verb. When it is dropped the context shows how to translate. Thus, *a-sūong-yoi-mo*, 'his cooking ? is he cooked ?' *ka-sūong-yoi-na*, 'my-cooking, I cooked'. The first of these sentences must be translated as a passive, the second as an active.

Compound verbs are freely formed in order to modify the meaning of the primary verb. The prefixes *ma-* and *man-* form causatives. Thus, *an-ma-soi-yoi*, 'they-let-him-go'. *Hong*, 'to come', is used as a prefix in order to denote motion towards the speaker ; thus, *hong-choi-ro*, 'come-carry, bring'. Desideratives are formed by adding *nwom*, 'to wish'. Intensives seem to be formed by reduplicating the root ; thus, *a yong-yong-ā*, 'he-coming-coming, running'. [LSI pp. 216-219]

*Order of words*. The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. But there are many exceptions to the rule, [LSI p. 219]

## CHIRU

215 The Chirus are a small tribe in the Manipur State. Most of them live in the mountains to the west of the valley, but a few Chirus are also found as a migratory tribe in the valley. Their language is most closely related to Hallām, Kōm, Rāngkhōl and Langrong. [LSI p. 226]

*Pronunciation*. There are apparently two diphthongs *ai*, 'one' with a long *ā* and another with a short *a*. Thus, *nai*, 'child' ;

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*nai*, 'property'. The vowels of the prefixes are often changed so as to agree with the vowels of the following syllables. Thus, *u-rūk*, 'six' ; *ka-sā-pā*, 'my son'. Final *r* is often doubled ; thus, *thirr*, 'iron'. [LSI p. 226]

*Articles.* The numeral *khat*, 'one', is used as an indefinite article, and definiteness is denoted by the use of relative clauses, pronominal prefixes, and demonstrative pronouns. [LSI p. 227]

*Nouns : Gender.* Gender is based on animate-inanimate differentiation In the case of human being, it is often distinguished by the use of different words. The usual suffixes in the case of human beings are *-pā* or *-apā*, 'male' ; *-nū*, 'female'. In the case of animals the suffixes used are *-chā*, 'male' ; *-a-nū-pāng*, 'female'. Thus, *ka-sā-pā*, 'my son' ; *kū-sū-nū*, 'my daughter'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. When it is necessary to mark the plural, some word meaning 'many', 'multitude' ; etc., is added.

*Case.* The nominative and the accusative do not generally take any suffix. The genitive is generally expressed by putting the governed before the governing word, without any suffix. Thus, *sa-korr hi-lā kūm*, 'horse this year, the years of this horse'. A possessive pronoun is sometimes prefixed to the governing word ; *a-kai-a-būn*, 'the tiger its skin'. [LSI p. 227]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives follow the noun they qualify, and suffixes and postpositions are added to them, and not to the qualified noun. Thus. *a-pā a-tha-rūk ding*, 'man good-many to, to good men.

The particles of comparison are *kārā* and *nigā*. *tak*, 'much, most', may be added to the adjective in order to form a kind of absolute superlative. Thus, *pon a-tha-tak*, 'cloth best, the best cloth'. [LSI pp. 227-228]

*Numerals.* The numerals follow the noun they qualify: [LSI p. 228]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns for 'I' is *kai*, for 'thou' is *nang* ; for 'he' is *a-mā*. The forms *ka* or *kā*, 'I, we' ; *na* or

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*nang*, 'thou, you', *a*, 'he, she, it, they' are used as pronominal prefixes with the verbs.

There is no relative pronoun. The base alone or any other form of the pronoun can be used as a relative participle.

[LSI p. 228]

*Verbs.* Verbs are conjugated in person by means of pronominal prefixes.

The root alone without any suffix is freely used to denote present and past tenses. Thus, *kai-nā ka-jēm*, 'I strike'; *a-rai*, 'he said'. The suffix *-lāi* is often used in the same way.

The suffix of the past tense is *-yoi*. Cf. Rāngkhōl *joi*, Hallām *zei*, Kōm *yō*, and Siyin *yō-hi*. Thus, *a-sēm-pē-yoi*, 'he divided'. This suffix is also used to denote the present tense.

The suffix of the future is *-rāng* or *-rang*; thus, *wāk-ri-rang*, 'I will go and say'.

The root alone, without any suffix, is used as an infinitive or verbal noun; thus, *ā-hong*, 'to come'. Postpositions are freely added to this form and in this way adverbial clauses are formed. Thus, *bū nēk-būi-yā*, 'food eating not in, with hunger'.

There is no passive voice. However, the suffix of the agentive case is sufficient to indicate passive sense. Thus, *kai khā-lo na-jēm*, 'me thou strikest, I am struck'.

Compound words are freely formed in order to modify the sense. Several prefixes are used for the purpose, such as, *hoi*, which seems to denote motion from and *jong* and *yoŋng*, which denote motion towards. Causatives are formed by adding *-ma* or *-ma-sak*; thus, *ri-sē-ma-sak-ro*, 'cause him to wear'. Desideratives are formed by adding *-yot*; thus, *i-sāk-yot*, 'he wished to eat'. [LSI pp. 228-230]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. The indirect object sometimes precedes and sometimes follows the direct one. [LSI p. 230]

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## KOLRĒN OR KOIRENG

216 The Kolrēns or Koirengs are a small tribe in the State of Manipur. They live in a few small villages on the hills north of the valley. They are also found as a migratory tribe in the valley itself.

The Kolrēn dialect in essential points agrees with Hallām, Kōm, Rāngkhol, Langrong, etc.; in some instances most closely with khongzāi, [LSI p. 234]

*Articles.* There are no articles. The numeral *khat*, 'one', is used as an indefinite article, and prefixes, demonstrative pronouns, and relative clauses supply the place of the definite article. [LSI p. 235]

*Nouns.* Nouns denoting relationship and parts of body are usually preceded by a possessive pronoun. Thus, *ki-nū-mai*, 'wife', lit. 'my wife'; *a-mit*, 'eye', lit., 'his eye'.

*Gender.* Gender is based on animate-inanimate differentiation. It is, when necessary, distinguished by means of suffixes, or, in the case of human beings by using different words. *Pā* and *nū* are the usual suffixes in the case of human beings, and *chal* and *tang*, 'male'; and *pi* or *api*; 'female', in the case of animals.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. When it is necessary to denote the plural some word meaning 'many', 'all', etc., is added.

*Case.* Generally, the cases are not declined. The genitive is usually indicated by positional specification, i.e., by putting the governed before the governing word; thus, *ni-pā in-ā*, 'thy father's house-in'. The governed word is sometimes repeated before the governing one by means of a possessive pronoun; thus, *ka-bon-a-chām-ā*, 'my belly-its hunger-in, with hunger'. [LSI pp. 235-236]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives are usually preceded by one of the prefixes *a-* and *mi-*, and a suffix *-pa*, is also sometimes added. They usually follow, but occasionally precede, the noun they qualify. The particles of comparison are *nēko* and *kara*. A

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kind of superlative is formed by adding *-tak*, 'much', to the adjective. Thus, *a-so-tak pūwon*, 'the best cloth'. [LSI p. 236]

*Numerals.* Numerals follow the noun they qualify. [LSI p. 236]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *kai*; for thou is *nang*; for 'he' is *a-mā*. The forms *ka* or *ki*, 'I'; *kin*, 'we', *na* and *ni*, 'thou'; *nin*, *nina*, *nini*, 'you'; *a*, 'he, she, it'; *an* and *ana*, 'they', are used as pronominal prefixes.

There are no relative pronouns. The relative participle is used instead, which is denoted by the root alone, without the addition of any suffix; thus, *a-mā ram-ā a-om pasal khat*, 'that place in-being man one'. (LSI pp. 236-237)

*Verbs.* Verbs are conjugated in person and number by means of pronominal prefixes.

The root alone, without any suffix, is freely used to denote present and past tense.

The suffix of the past tense is *-yai*. Thus, *a-sēm-pēk-yai*, 'he divided gave'. *Yai* probably means 'complete, finish; compare Rāngkhōl *jōi*. This suffix is also used to denote the present tense when the action is denoted as a completed or established fact. Thus, *thi-rong ka-ti-yai*, 'dying-for I-have-said, I am about to die'.

The future is formed by adding *-ing*, *-sik* and *-rang*; all probably postpositions meaning 'for, in order to', and conveying the force of a future or an imperative. To these forms are added the verb *ni*, 'to be' and another verb which has the form *ta*, *tē* and *ti*. Thus, *wa-chēng-ki-tā*, 'going-for-I-saying, I-will-go'; *wa-ril-ing-ki-tē*, 'I will say'.

The root alone is used as an infinitive or verbal noun. Thus, *kai-ni-wēl a-sā*, 'my striking good-is, I may strike'.

There is no passive voice.

The compound verbs are formed in order to modify the meaning of the principal verb. Several prefixes are used for the purpose. The prefix *min-* forms causatives. Thus, *ki-min-chē-yai*,

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'he caused to go, he sent'. Desideratives are formed by adding *-mūwom*, 'to wish'. Potentiality is denoted by adding *-thai*.

[LSI pp. 237-239]

*Order of words* : The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. The indirect object usually follows the direct one.

[LSI p. 239]

## KŌM

217 Kōm is spoken in a few villages in Manipur, chiefly among the hills bordering the west side of the valley, and at Sinamkom, about 12 miles to the north of Manipur. [LSI p. 244]

*Pronunciation.* Aspirated nesals and liquids are relatively frequent ; thus, *ka-lhā*, 'far ; *mhū*, 'to see.' A final *tenuis* is often changed to a media when a vocalic suffix is added ; thus, *kāp*, 'to shoot' ; but *a-kāb-ā*, 'shooting'. [LSI p. 244]

*Prefixes.* There are several prefixes and suffixes the proper meaning of which can no more be ascertained, and in this respect Kōm represents the same stage of development as the Bodo and the Nāgā languages. Some of the prefixes are as under :

*a-* is used before substantives, adjectives and verbs. *In-* is prefixed to several verbs. *Ka-* is the most common of all prefixes and seems to have a still wider use than the corresponding prefix of Angāmi. *Ka-* is prefixed to all nouns denoting relationship or parts of body, to verbal nouns and, frequently to adjectives. Participles ending in-*a* are often preceded by *ka-*. [LSI pp. 244-245]

*Articles.* There are no articles. The numeral *in-khat*, 'one', is used as an indefinite article, and pronominal prefixes, demonstrative pronouns and relative clauses supply the place of a definite article. [LSI p. 246]

*Nouns* : *Gender.* Gender is based on animate-inanimate differentiation. It is not denoted unless it is necessary in order to avoid ambiguity. Different words and suffixes may be used for the purpose. The suffixes in the case of human beings are *pā*, 'male', and *nū*, 'female', and in the case of animals are *chē*, 'male' and (*a*) *pūi*, 'female'.

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*Number.* Number is only marked when it does not appear from the context. The plural is denoted by adding some word meaning 'many' such as *nghai* or *ka-tam*; thus *ka-pā ka-tam*, 'fathers'.

*Case.* Cases, generally, are not declined. The genitive is expressed by putting the governed before the governing noun. Thus, *ka-pā shak*, 'my father's servants'. [LSI p. 246]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives usually follow, but occasionally precede, the noun they qualify. [LSI p. 246]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *kai*; for 'thou' is *nang*, and for 'he' is *a-mā*. The forms *ka* or *kā*, 'I', *kan* or *ka*, 'we'; *na* or *nā*, 'thou'; *nan*, *na* or *nē*, 'you', *a* 'he, she, it' and *an*, 'they', are used as pronominal prefixes.

There are no relative pronouns. Participles are used instead or a demonstrative pronoun is used as a kind of correlative. Thus, *kai nhēng-ā kō-om hi a-khēng-ā*, 'me to being this all, all that I have'.

*Verbs.* Verbs are conjugated in person and number by means of pronominal prefixes. The prefixes are dropped in the imperative and before the prefixes *a-*, *in-*, *ka-* and *ke-*. The person and partly also the number, of the verb are also distinguished by adding different suffixes.

The root, either alone, or with the prefix *ka-* is freely used to denote the present and past tenses. Thus, *a-mān sē a-sēr*, 'the cattle grazing-is'; *a-rhi*, 'he said'.

The usual suffix of the past tense is *-yō*; thus, *ā-sē-pu-yō*, 'he went, or he brought'.

The suffix of the future seems to be *-sik* or *-si*; thus, *kain ka-wūk-si*, 'I shall beat'.

The root alone, without any suffix, may be used as an infinitive or verbal noun. The suffix *sik-ā* is also used to form verbal nouns; thus, *chang-sik-ā*, 'to be'.

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The passive voice does not differ from the active, but the subject is not distinguished by the suffix of the agentive case. Thus, *ka-faa-yō*, 'he was found again' ; *koi a-nï-wūk-yō-ēng*, 'me he-beat, I was beaten'.

Compound verbs are freely formed. A number of prefixes are used for the purpose. Causatives seem to be formed by prefixing *man-*, and by suffixing *-pu*. Desideratives are formed by adding *-nhūm;* thus, *a-sāk-nhūm-tā*, 'he-to-eat-wished', Potentials are formed by adding *ka-thā* ; thus, *kain ka-wūk-ka-thā*, 'I may beat',

Adjectives are freely used as verbs ; thus, *ka-thē* '(it-is) good'. [LSI pp. 247-249]

## MHĀR

218 The Mhār dialect is spoken by a small number of people scattered over the different villages in the Northern Lushai Hills. There are no villages composed altogether of people speaking Mhār.

The Mhār dialect has been much influenced by Lushēi. There are, however, sufficient points of disagreement, and, on the whole, the dialect is more closely related to the old Kuki sub-group than to Lushēi. [LSI p. 256]

*Articles* : There are no articles in the language. The indefinite pronoun *tu-ma-nih*, 'a certain', is used as an indefinite article, while pronominal prefixes, demonstrative pronouns, and relative phrases supply the place of a definite article. [LSI p. 256.]

*Nouns* : *Gender*. The gender is based only on animate-inanimate differentiation.

*Number*. There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The number of the subject is indicated by means of the pronominal prefixes preceding the verb. When it is necessary to indicate the plural the suffix *-hai* is added ; thus, *suak-hai*, 'slaves'.

*Case*. The nouns, generally, are not declined for cases. Usually the relations are indicated by means of postpositions.

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The genitive is denoted by putting the stem before the governing word ; thus, *ro ka chan-tum*, 'of the property my share'.

[LSI pp. 256-257]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives follow the noun they qualify, and postpositions are added to them and not to the qualified noun ; thus. *khua-lam la-tak-a*, 'village for very to'. The suffix of the comparative is *lem ;* thus, *nao-pang lem*, 'younger'. The superlative seems to be marked by adding *tak*, 'very' ; thus, *puan tha tak*, 'cloth good very, the best cloth'. [LSI p. 257]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns for 'I' are *kei, ka* ; for 'thou' are *i-ni, i* ; for 'he, it' are *a-ma, an, a.* The forms *ka, i-na, i, an, a. kan*, 'we', *an*, 'they', are used as pronominal prefixes with verbs.

There are no relative pronouns. The demonstrative pronoun is used as a kind of correlative. Thus, *ziang-tin kâm vok-in a bak kha*, 'whatever food the pigs they ate, that'. [LSI p. 257]

*Verbs.* Verbs are conjugated in person and number by means of pronominal prefixes. When the subject is a neuter noun, the singular particle is also used in the plural. Thus, *vok-in a-bak*, 'the pigs they ate'.

The root alone is used to denote the present and past tenses ; thus *ani*, 'he is' ; *a ta*, 'he said'.

The suffix of past tense is *-ta* or *-tah* ; thus, *a fe-tah*, 'he went.'

The future is formed by inserting the pronominal prefix between the root and the verb *tih*. Thus, *va-rhil-ka-tih*, 'I will go and say'.

The root alone is used as an infinitive or verbal noun. The pronominal prefix indicating the person may be prefixed. Thus, *a-bak a nuam-a*, 'to eat he wished.'

There is no passive voice. Instead of 'I am seen' we must say 'somebody saw me'.

Compound verbs are formed by means of prefixes or by suffixing other verbs or particles. Prefixes, such as *hang-*, signifying motion upwards, or towards ; *lo*, signifying motion

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towards ; *va*, signifying motion on level ground, occur. Causatives are formed by suffixing *-tir* ; thus *hang-bun-tir-roh*, 'cause him to put on'. Desideratives are formed by suffixing *nuam* ; thus, a *loi-nuam-roh-a*, 'he to enter-wished-not'. [LSI pp. 257-258]

## PŪRŪM

**219** The Pūrūms are a small tribe in the hills around the valley of Manipur. There is also a small village in the valley, in the neighbourhood of Aimol. [LSI p. 263]

*Articles.* There are no articles. The numeral *a-kha*, 'one', is used as an indefinite article, while relative clauses, pronominal prefixes, and demonstrative pronouns supply the place of a definite article. [LSI p. 264]

*Nouns : Gender.* Gender is based on animate-inanimate differentiation. It is only marked when it does not appear from the context. It is distinguished by means of suffixes, and, in the case of human beings by the use of different words. The usual suffixes in the case of human beings are *pā*, 'male', and *nū*, 'female'. Thus, *sa-nāū-pā*, 'son' ; *sa-nāū-nū*, 'daughter'. The suffixes used in the case of animals are *pā*, *a-pā*, *chal-pā* and *tang-pā*, for males, and *namai*, *a-mai*, *pi-nū*, and *bi-nū* for females.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and rhe plural. When it is necessary to denote the plural some word meaning 'all', 'many', etc., is added.

*Case.* The nominative, the accusative and the genitive do not require any suffix. The genitive is expressed by putting the governed before the governing noun. Thus, *sa-korr hi kūm*, 'horse this years, the years of this horse'. [LSI pp. 264-265]

*Adjectives.* The adjectives are often preceded by prefix *a-*. The suffix *-pa*, forming relative participles, is often added. When the adjectives are used as verbs the ordinary verbal suffixes are added. Thus, *sāng-ē*, 'he is high'.

The postpositions *kārā*, 'from among', and *ta*, 'concerning', are used as participles of comparison, and *tik* or *tik-ti* may be added to adjectives. Thus, *a-mo-nā arr-hā-tik-ti*, 'he good-much-much,

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better' ; *a-ni kāra-nā pāi sāng-tik*, 'two from among he high-much higher'. [LSI p. 265]

*Numerals.* The numerals follow the noun they qualify. [LSI p. 265]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *kai* ; for 'thou' is *nang* ; for 'he' is *amo, mo.* Words, such as *chū* or *jū*, 'that' ; *ko*, 'that', also are often added to the pronouns in order to emphasize them ; thus, *kai-chū*, 'I' ; *mo-jū*, 'he', etc.

There are no relative pronouns. Instead relative participles are used. The suffix *pā*, which often is added to adjectives, belongs to a relative participle. But in most cases no suffix is added. [LSI pp. 265-266]

*Verbs.* Verbs are not conjugated in person and number. *Ka*, 'my' and *a*, 'his', are in a few instances used before the verb in order to denote the person of the subject.

The root alone, without any suffix, is freely used to denote present and past tenses. Thus, *nā-i-yā am amoi*, 'this how-much is ?' ; *nāū-pang-pā ril*, 'the younger said'.

The usual suffix of the past is *yaū*, *yo* or *yūi* ; thus, *tūng-yūi* (*-yā*), 'he arrived (-when)'. This suffix is also used to denote the present tense, when the action is considered as an established fact.

The usual suffix of the future is *-ang*, as in Lushēi. Thus, *pē-yang*, 'I will give'. Another suffix is *-tik*.

The root alone is often used as an infinitive or verbal noun ; thus, *na-sa-nāū chang ka-ma-tik-ni-yo*, 'thy son to be I-worthy-not'. The verbal nouns are treated as ordinary nouns, and may be combined with postpositions, etc., in order to form adverbial clauses. Thus, *rūng-ni ti-tē am-ā*, 'days few remaining-in, after few days'.

There is no passive voice. *Kai-ta wēl-ē*, 'I am struck', lit. means 'me-concerning striking takes place'.

Compound verbs are freely formed in order to modify the meaning of the principal verb. Both verbs are sometimes inflected.

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Thus, *tān-a-lūt-a*, 'running entering, running towards'. The verb *pi*, 'to give', forms causatives. Thus, *chang-pi*, 'to-be-cause, appoint'. The verb, *ngē* forms desideratives. Other verbs, which are added to form compound words are *hā*, 'together', *lak*, 'begin'; *sēr*, 'back, again'. [LSI pp. 266-268]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, direct object, indirect object, verb. [LSI pp. 268]

## ANĀL

220 The Anāls are a small tribe living in the hills on the east of the Manipur Valley. Their chief village is Anāl in the south-east. [LSI p. 272]

*Articles.* There are no articles. The numeral *khē*, 'one', is often used as an indefinite article, while definiteness is marked by using relative clauses or demonstrative pronouns. [LSI p. 273]

*Nouns.* Nouns denoting relationship and parts of body are usually preceded by a possessive pronoun; thus, *ka-nē*, 'brother', lit. 'my brother'.

*Gender.* Gender is based on animate-inanimate differentiation. The gender of human beings is either distinguished by means of different words or by suffixes, viz., *pā* or *sēn-pā*, 'male', *nū* or *sē-nū*, 'female'. The gender of animals is denoted by adding *patal*, 'male', and *anū* or *nū*, 'female'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The usual suffix of the plural is *-hing*; thus, *mi nai-hing*, 'servants'.

*Case.* Different cases are usually denoted without adding any suffix. The genitive is sometimes denoted by putting the governed before the governing noun, but more generally the suffix *-gi* or *-ki*, 'from', is added. Thus, *a-mā khū-gi tūkal*, 'that village of a shopkeeper, a shopkeeper of a village'. Sometimes a demonstrative pronoun is also prefixed to the governing noun. [LSI pp. 273-274]

*Adjectives.* The adjectives sometimes precede and sometimes follow the word they qualify. The ordinary verbal suffixes are often added; thus, *bū tha-tang-nū*, 'cloth best being, the best cloth'. [LSI p. 274]

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*Numerals.* The numerals follow the noun they qualify,
[LSI p. 274]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns for 'I' is *ni* ; for 'thou' is *nang* ; for 'he' is *a-mā*.

There are no relative pronouns. Instead relative participles are used. The common suffix of the relative participle is apparently *nū* ; thus, *sēl-li-nū ka-mi-nai*, 'wages-getting servants'.
[LSI pp. 274-275]

*Verbs.* There is apparently no essential difference between present and past tenses. Some suffixes, however, seem to be regularly used to convey the meaning of past. Sometimes no suffix is added ; thus, *a-mā wa-chā*, 'he goes'.

The suffix of the future seems to be *-ni* or *-ming*, to which *ga* or *fo* may be prefixed ; thus, *thē-ka-ni*, 'I will say'.

The root alone is used as an infinitive or verbal noun. Thus, *ni ithiū pangam*, 'I be can, I may be'. The suffix *nū* seems also to be used.

There is no passive voice. Thus, *ni-do mi-ki-nū*, 'I am struck', seems to mean 'me man strikes.'

Compound verbs are freely formed. Thus, *yēl*, 'divide' ; *pē*, 'give' ; *yēt-bē*, 'divide-give, allot.' Causatives are formed by prefixing *ma* ; thus, *ma-pūm-hā-wal*, 'he washed.'
[LSI pp. 275-277]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. The indirect object sometimes precedes, but generally follows the direct one. [LSI p. 277]

## HIRŌI LAMGĀNG

221 The Hirōi Lamgāng dialect is spoken by a small tribe in Manipur. They are found in the southern part of the country.
[LSI p. 281]

*Prefixes and suffixes.* There are in Lamgāng, as in the Nāgā languages, many prefixes and suffixes, which originally had a definite meaning of their own, but are now apparently used without adding anything to the meaning. Most of the suffixes,

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however, seem to be used as postpositions in the inflexion of nouns and verbs. The most common prefixes are *a-*, *ka-* and *ma-*.

[LSI pp. 282-283]

*Articles.* There are no articles. The numeral *khat*, 'one', may be used as an indefinite articles, and definiteness is indicated by the use of relative clauses, prefixes, and demonstrative pronouns. [LSI p, 283]

*Nouns : Gender.* Gender is based only on animate-inanimate differentiation. It is distinguished in the case of human beings by the use of different words or by the suffixes *pā*, 'male', and *nū*, 'female', which are also used in the case of animals. Thus, *sa-kol-pā*, 'a horse' ; *sa-kol-nū*, 'a mare'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. When it is necessary to mark the plural, some word meaning 'many', 'all', etc. is added.

*Case.* The nominative and the accusative do not, as a rule take any suffix. The genitive is often expressed by putting the governed before the governing word, without any suffix. Thus, *a-pā in-thā*, 'thy father's house-in'. The suffix-*ki*, 'from', is often added to the governed word. [LSI pp. 283-284]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives usually follow, but occasionally also precede the noun they qualify. The comparative degree is sometimes only indicated by the position of the compared nouns ; thus, *ma-charr-nū ma-nāo isāng-ā*,' his-sister his-brother tall is, his brother is taller than his sister'. The suffix *sēt* may be added in order to form comparatives and superlatives. [LSI p. 284]

*Numerals.* Numerals follow the noun they qualify.

[LSI p. 284]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *nai* ; for 'thou' is *nang* ; for 'he' is *ma-mā*.

There are no relative pronouns, their place being supplied by relative participles. The usual from of these participles is the root with the prefix *ka-* without any suffix. Thus, *laū kū-nūm mi*, 'jhum cutting man, cultivator.' [LSI pp. 284-285]

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*Verbs.* The root alone without any suffix is often used to denote present and past tenses. Thus, *nai ka-prai*, 'I strike, I am striking'. *mamā ka-wa*, 'he went'. The suffixes *-dā* and *-cha* denote the past tense. Suffix *-na* is apparently added to the present, as well as, to the past tenses. Thus, *nai ka-thok-nū*, 'I am, I was.'

The suffix of the future is *-ni* ; thus, *nai ka-thūk-ni-ka-di*, 'I shall be.'

The root alone, without any suffix, is often used as an infinitive or verbal noun. Adverbial sentences are formed by adding postpositions to this form. Thus, *ma-di-thūng-ki*, 'dying from, after he had died.'

There is no passive voice. *nai ma-prai-dā*, 'I am struck', lit. 'me he strikes.'

Compound verbs are freely used in order to modify the meaning of the verbs. Thus, *wāng*, 'come' ; *chēn*, 'run' ; *wāng-chēn*, 'run towards' ; *thēm*, 'divide ; *pi*, 'give' ; *ka-thēm-pi*, 'he divided and gave' and so on. [LSI pp. 285-287]

*Order of words.* The usual order of words is subject, object, verb. The indirect object sometimes precedes and sometimes follows the direct one. [LSI p. 287]



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## 222 LIST OF SELECT WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE OLD KUKI DIALECTS

| *English* | *Rangkhol (Cachar)* | *Hallām (Sylhet)* | *Anal (Manipur)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| one | in-kāt | in-khāt | ātō, khē |
| two | in-nī | in-ni | a-nhi |
| three | in-tūm | in-thūm | a-thūm |
| four | min-li, (mī-lī) | man-li | palli |
| hand | gūt, kūt | kūt | ka-kū |
| foot | kē | ke | ka-khū |
| head | ā-lū | lū | ka-lū-chē |
| a father | ā-pā | pā in-khāt-ā | ma-pā-khē |
| of a father | a-pā-mō | pā in-khāt-ā | ma-pā-khē |
| to a father | a-pā-kā | pā in-khāt kom ~ neng-ā | ma-pā khē kūng |
| two fathers | ā-pā innī | pā in-ni-kā | ma-pā anhi |
| I am | gē (mā) ā-ōm. gē-ōm, gēnī-ōm, | kei kā om, kā om | ni thiū-ga ni |
| thou art | nang-mā nē-ōm | nang nā om, nā om | nang thiū-ga ti |
| he is | ā-mā ā-ōm | ā-mā ā om, ā om | amā thiū-kā |
| we are | gē-mā-hai gin-hōm | kei-ni kān-ā-om | ni-hing thiū ga-ni |
| you are | nangni nin-hōm, nin-ōm | nang-ni nānā om | nang-hing-thiū-ga-ti |
| they are | āmā-hai ā ōm | ān-ni ānā om | amā-hing thiūkā |
| I was | gē-ōm-tā | kei kā ni | ni thiūndā |
| thou wast | nang nē-ōm tā | nang nā ni | nang bē thi-ūndēndā |
| he was | āmā ā-ōm-tā | āmā ā-ni | a-mā hē thiūkā |
| we were | gēni-hai gē-ōm-tā | kei-ni kānā ni | ni-hing thiūndā |

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| *English* | *Rāngkhol (Cachar)* | *Hallam (Sylhet)* | *Anāl (Manipur)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| you were | nangni nin-ōm-tā | nang-ni nānā ni | nang-hing thiūndēndā |
| they were | āmā-hai ā-ōm-tā | ān-ni ānā ni | ā-mā-hing thiūkā |
| I shall be | gēmā ōm-rāng | kei om kā-tī | ni thiūng-ga-ni |
| I beat | gē-jēm | kei kā jem | nika-bon wal |
| thou beatest | nē-jem | nang nā jem | nang a-bon-wal |
| he beats | ā-jēm | ā-mā ā jem | a-mā a-bon-wal |
| we beat | gē-mā-hai gē-jēm | kei-ni kān jem | ni-hing ka-bon-mang |
| you beat | nang-mā-hai nē-jēm | nang-ni nān jem | nang-hing ka-bon-dēndā |
| they beat | āmā-hai ā-jēm | ān-ni ān jem | amā-hing kiyē-nā |
| I beat (past) | gē-jēm-tā | (kei-mān kā jem-rang) | ni kē-wal |
| thou beatest (past) | nang nē-jēm-tā | (nang jem-rang) | nang ki-ta-nū |
| he beat (past) | āmā ā-jēm-tā | (āni ān jem-rang) | a-mā ki-nū |
| we beat (past) | gē-mā-hai gē-jēm-tā | (kei-nin kain jem-rang) | ni-hing kē-tī |
| you beat (past) | nang-mā-hai nē-jēm-tā | (nāng-ni nāin jem-rang) | nang-hing ki-ta-nū |
| they beat (past) | āmā-hai ā-jēm-tā | (ān-mā-ni ān-in jem-rang) | amā-hing ki-yē-nu |
| I shall beat | gē-jēm-rāng | kei jem kā-tī | ni a-būm-fo-ni |

[LSI pp. 292-327]

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## SOUTHERN CHIN SUB-GROUP

223 To the south of the Chin Hills there are several tribes which are related to the Northern Chins. Two of them are relatively well known, viz., the Khyangs or Shös and the Khamis. Both will be dealt with separately below. Many southern tribes, such as Anu, Kun, Pallaing, and Sak or That, are mentioned in the Census reports and gazetters, but we do not know anything about their dialects. [LSI pp. 329-330]

### SHÖ OR KHYANG

224 The Khyengs or Khyangs inhabit the country on both sides of the Arakan Yomas. Their geographical limits are comprised within the 18th and 21st degrees of North latitude. The territory inhabited by them is rugged and inaccessible. [LSI pp. 331-332]

*Articles.* There are no articles. The numeral *māth* or *ngāt*, 'one', is used as an indefinite article, and definiteness is expressed by means of demonstrative pronouns or relative clauses. [LSI p. 334]

*Nouns : Gender.* Gender is based on animate and inanimate differentiation. It is apparent in the case of animate beings. It is distinguished by the use of different words and also by the addition of male and female suffixes ; *pa-chung* or *pu-chung*, 'male', *nu*, 'female'. Several male suffixes and only one female suffix is used in order to distinguish the gender of animals.

*Number.* According to Houghton and Fryer there are three numbers, singular, dual and plural. Both give *hoi* as the suffix of the dual, but add that the numeral 'two' is generally used instead, except in a few compounds, such as, *ta-nau-hoi*, 'elder brother younger brother both, the elder and the younger brothers'.

*Case.* Except the nominative and the genitive other cases are expressed by adding suffixes. Genitive is indicated only by



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positional specification, i.e., by putting the governed before the governing noun : thus, *p-im-â*, (my) father's house in'.

[LSI pp. 334-335]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives usually follow the noun they qualify, and suffixes and postpositions are then added to them and not to the qualified noun.

The particle of comparison is *tha*, 'from' ; thus, *ā-bē tha ka kling*, 'his sister than I tall. I am taller than his sister'. Words meaning 'much', 'very', 'great', may be added to the adjective. *hēk* may be added to denote the highest degree. Thus, *a-bhoi-hēk*, 'the best'. [LSI p. 335]

*Numerals.* There are several generic prefixes used before numerals, such as *pāi* for human beings ; *zūn* for animals and birds; *thēk* for fishes and arrows ; *bā* for reptiles, etc. [LSI p. 335]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *kyē* ; for 'thou' is *naung* (given by Houghton), *naun* (given by Fryer) ; for 'he, she, it' is *ayā*. The forms of the dual are *kyē-nhi*, 'we two' ; *naun (g)-nhi*, 'you two' ; *ya-nhi* (Fryer), *na-hoi, pa-nhi, yahoi*, (Houghton) 'they two'. [LSI pp. 336-337]

*Verbs.* Abbreviated forms of the personal pronouns are prefixed to the verbs in order to indicate the person and number of the subject. The prefixes are: *ka*, 'I' ; *na*, 'thou' ; *a*, 'he, she, it, they' ; *na*, 'we two, you two' ; *ma*, 'we, you'. Very often the prefixes are dropped.

The root alone, without any suffix, is freely used to denote the present and past tenses ; thus, *nung ni mal*, 'thou strikest' ; *no-lek-chá-lā ā-po-ā hopek*, 'the youngest son his-father-to said'.

The past tense is also formed by adding suffixes, *ni-ū* (Houghton) ; *ni-u* (Fryer). The suffix of the future is *-ai*, Houghton gives *aih* and Fryer *ei* ; thus, *ko hopek-ai*, 'I will say'.

The verbal nouns are formed by means of the prefixes *a-*; thus, *a-lō*, 'the coming'. By suffixing the postposition *-ā* an infinitive of purpose is effected, e.g., *ayā a-mân-ā*, 'in order to seize him'.

There is no passive voice. Instead of 'I am struck' we find 'he strikes me', or 'I suffer a striking'.

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Compound verbs are freely formed in order to modify the meaning ; verbs, such as *bo*, 'to return', *la* 'to get, to must', *sē*, 'to cause' ; *woi*, 'to wish', etc. are added to form compound verbs. A few examples are, *tho-wāl*, 'come back', *ku-du-āhe*, 'I am dying'.

In the negative verb no distinction is made, as a rule, between the present, past, and the future tenses. [LSI pp. 338-341]

*Order of words.* The regular order of words seems to be subject, direct object, indirect object, verb. [LSI p. 341]

The material available shows that there are at least two dialects of Shŏ -a northern spoken in the Chittagong Hill Tracts, and a southern spoken in Sandoway and the neighbouring districts. [LSI pp. 341-342]

## KHAMI

225 The Khamis are settled on the Koladyne River in Arakan, and on the upper part of the Sangu River, in the Bohmong Chiefs' circle of the Chittagong Hill Tracts. The grammatical remarks below are based on the unreliable material. [LSI p. 347]

*Pronunciation.* Final consonants are sometimes silent ; thus *deik* and *dei*, 'to die.' *H* is very often added at the end of a word ; thus, *kāi-āh*, 'me-to' : *thue-pah* and *thue-pa*, 'said.' According to Mr. Houghton the language possesses at least two tones, the light and the heavy one. [LSI pp. 348-350]

*Articles.* There are no articles. A word *long*, *leong* or *lhong* seems to be used as an indefinite article with nouns denoting human beings. Thus, *khu-mi lhong-reh*, 'one man.' The numeral *ha-rē* is also used as an indefinite article. [LSI p. 350]

*Nouns.* Several prefixes are used before nouns, apparently without any meaning of their own. Thus, we find *am-pŏ*, 'father', *ka-si* 'star' ; *ki-ni*, 'sun'.

*Gender.* Gender is based on animate-inanimate differentiation. It is marked in the case of animate beings, when it does not appear from the context. In case of human beings different words and also prefixes and suffixes are used in order to distinguish

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the gender. The common suffixes are *po*, 'male', *nū*, 'female.' In the case of animals the male suffixes are *pā-tāi* for large animals, and *lo*, for small animals, and *nū* for females

*Number.* There are apparently three numbers, singular, dual, and plural. The dual noun is always denoted by adding the numeral, 'two There is also a dual suffix *-hoi* ; which occurs after pronouns, as in Shö.

*Case.* The cases are generally speaking not declined. The genitive is usually indicated by positional specification. i.e., by putting the governed before the governing noun ; thus, *kāi ām-prā chinnū kāilā*, 'my uncle's daughter, I have married.'

[LSI pp. 350-351]

*Adjectives.* The adjectives generally follow the noun they qualify and postpositions and suffixes are then added to them, and not to the qualified noun. Sometimes the suffix *-nā* is added to the adjectives ; thus, *khai-mi hoi-nā long-rē*, 'a good man'.

The particle of comparison is *thang-wa* or *theong-o* ; thus, *hūni tai-cho theong-o ā cheang*, 'he sister than high.' The suffix *-ke* may be added to the adjective in the comparative and *tēp* in the superlative. [LSI p. 351]

*Numerals.* The numerals follow the noun they qualify. Two generic prefixes *leong-* and *tlap-* are reported to be in use

[LSI pp. 351-352]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *kāi* ; for 'thou' is *nāng* ; for 'he' is *hū-ni*.

There are no relative pronouns, relative participles being used instead ; thus, *kaeh awe-n a nāng*, 'my being is thine.'

[LSI pp. 352-353]

*Verbs.* The pronominal prefixes which form so characteristic a feature in most languages of the Kuki-Chin group are apparently wanting in Khami. Some traces of a prefix *a-* in the third person singular are, however, found. Thus, *a-lhoom*, 'he joined'. The same prefix is also used before an imperative, in *a-paū*, 'give.'

The root alone without any suffix is used to denote the present and past tenses. A suffix *pa*, *bo* or *bau*, occurs in several

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forms of the past tense. Thus. *theo-pa.* 'said'; *a cham-bo,* 'he divided.'

The suffix of the future seems to be *-a* or *-ā.* Another suffix *-mi,* probably the Burmese *-mi* seems to occur in *kai-tēo-mi,* 'I shall be.'

The root alone is used as an imperative; thus *pah* 'give.' The root is also used as an infinitive or verbal noun; thus, *ki-yo koi kāma-nho,* 'stomach to fill wished.' A verbal noun is also formed by prefixing *-ām.*

The idea of a passive voice is effected periphrastically. The verb *khām* probably meaning 'to get', 'to suffer' seems to be generally used for the purpose. Thus, *kāi ām-khā ka khām,* 'I striking I suffer, I am struck.'

Compound verbs are apparently very freely used; thus *la-yā,* 'run-go, run'; *la-khao,* 'take-put, bring.' Sometimes reduplication of the root seems to denote intensity; thus, *koi-ma-koi,* 'entreat.'

[LSI pp. 353-354]

There are different dialects of this language. The dialectic differences are not great. However, there are two groups of dialects, one spoken in the north, and one in the south.

[LSI pp. 354-356]

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226 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES IN SOUTHERN CHIN DIALECTS

| *English* | *Shö (Chittagong Hill Tracts)* | *Khami (Chittagong Hill Tracts)* |
|---|---|---|
| one | māt | ārey |
| two | ni | nūr |
| three | thūm | thūng |
| four | lhi | plū |
| hand | kūt | kiuk |
| foot | khâ | khē-a |
| head | lūki | lū |
| a father | pâ ngat | ngā-āi leong-rē |
| of a father | pâ ngat khēo | ngā-āi leong-rē ilāo |
| to a father | pâ ngat cheng-ā | ngā-āi khe-o |
| two fathers | pâ pāi-ni | āmpū leong-nūr |
| I am | khēke ka tan-ēi | kāi tē |
| thou art | nungni ni-mai | nūng dung-di tē |
| he is | ayā mai | hūnni teo |
| we are | khē-ni mai | kāi-chē |
| you are | baitio (si) | nung-kē dung-di tē |
| they are | a-khal mai | ni-chē tē |
| I was | kēka mai | kāi a |
| thou wast | nung-ni ni mai | dung-di chi-om |
| he was | enghāt mai | kūnni om |
| we were | kēi-ni khini mai | kāi-chē om |
| you were | nung nya mai | dung-di nung-kē om |
| they were | a-khal ā mai | hū-ni-chē om |
| I shall be | khe ke tā | kāi tē-o-mi |
| I beat | khe ke mal-ai-shâ | kāi pākhā kinnū |
| thou beatest | nungni mal | dung-di pākhā |
| he beats | ai-la mal-shâ | hūnni pākhā |
| we beat | kēi-ni mal | kāi-chē pākhā |
| you beat | nungri mal | dung-di pākhā |
| they beat | a-kalā (sic) mal | ni-chē pākhā |
| I shall beat | khe ke mal-āi | kāi pā-khā kinnū |



[LSI pp. 360-377]

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# BURMA GROUP

## GENERAL INTRODUCTION

227 The Linguistic Survey does not extend to Burma or to the languages spoken in that province. A Burmese dialect, known as Maghī, is spoken in the Chittagong and Backergunge. It does not, however, differ from the dialect spoken in Arakan and it has, therefore, been excluded from the survey.

Mrū, a dialect in the Chittagong Hill Tracts in several points agrees with Burmese, and it has, therefore, been classed as belonging to the Burma group. Due to the unsatisfactory materials available its classification is provisional.

Its numerals mainly agree with those used in Burmese and the Kuki-Chin languages. The numerals in Tibeto-Burman languages are often qualified by means of generic particles. These particles are prefixes in the Kuki-Chin languages, but suffixes in Burmese. Mrū agrees with the latter form of speech. There are also some points of resemblance between Mrū and Burmese in the formation and inflection of words.

Mrū is by no means merely a Burmese dialect and differs from this latter language in essential points. We sometimes find parallel forms and words in other groups such as the Bodo, the Nāgā, and more especially, the Kuki-Chin languages.

The greatest part of the vocabulary, is apparently independent, or corresponding words are found now in one and now in another group of connected languages. [LSI pp. 379-381]

## MRŪ

228 The Mrūs are settled in Arakan Hills and in the Chittagong Hill Tracts.

The grammatical sketch detailed below is based on extremely corrupt and untrustworthy material. [LSI pp. 385-386]



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*Pronunciation.* Hard and soft consonants are interchangeable. Thus, we find *goi* and *koi*, 'in, to'. Aspirates are interchanged with unaspirated consonants; thus, *khoi* and *koi*, 'to'. Final consonants are often silent. Thus, we find *bá* and *bák*, a plural suffix. [LSI pp. 386-387]

*Articles.* The numerals *loh* and *lo-yā* may be used as an indefinite article, while definiteness is expressed by means of demonstrative pronouns or relative clauses. [LSI p. 387]

*Nouns.* The prefix *ā-* is often used before nouns, especially before such as denote relationships; thus, *ang ā-pā*, 'my father'.

*Gender.* Gender is based on animate, inanimate differentiaation. It is only indicated in the case of animate beings. In the case of human beings it is distinguished by using different words and also by suffixes, *pā*, 'male'; and *mā*, 'female'. In the case of animals the suffixes are *lā*, 'male', and *mā* 'female'.

*Number.* There seems to be two numbers, the singular and the plural. When it is necessary to distinguish the plural, some word meaning 'multitude', 'all,, etc., is added.

*Case.* The nominative and the accusative generally do not take any suffix. The genitive is denoted by putting the governed before the governing noun, and also by adding suffix *-kāch*. [LSI pp. 387-388]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives sometimes follow, and sometimes precede, the noun they qualify. The particles of comparison are *lāey* and *klēng-ē*; thus, *pai-mi lāey-u*, 'him than good, better': *na-mi klengkē tsyong*, 'that than high'. [LSI p. 388]

*Numerals.* The generic particles are probably suffixes, and not prefixes, just as in Burmese where they are suffixed when the numeral is less than ten. The generic particles are apparently also used alone, as a kind of indefinite article; thus *ā-tong ā-wāth*, 'a cloth'. [LSI p. 388]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *ang, ung*; for 'thou' is *en, in*; and for 'he' is *pai-mi*. The demonstrative pronouns are generally used as personal pronouns of the third person.

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There are no relative pronouns. A relative participle seems to be formed by adding the suffix *-mi*; thus, *āng-ing ā-kā-mi wān*, 'me by to-be-got property, the property which I shall get'.

[LSI pp. 388-389]

*Verbs.* There is no pronominal prefixes in the order to denote the person and the number of the subject.

The root alone, without any suffix, is generally used in order to denote the present and past tenses; thus, *ung-nā*, 'I am'; *pai-mi wai*, 'he was'. The suffixes of the present tense are *-a*, and *-kho*, and of the past tense are *ta* or *tā* and *khai*. *Khai* is also used to denote the present tense.

The root alone is apparently also used as a future. The suffix *-a* is also used to form the future. Thus, *ung-tēb-ā*, 'I shall strike'.

The root alone is also used as an imperative. Thus, *mung*, 'go', *chā*, 'eat'. Sometimes a suffix *-a* is added; thus, *tēb-ā*, 'strike'.

The root alone is also used as an infinitive or verbal noun; thus, *pai-mi mu du-chākowoi*, 'he, his-belly to fill wished'. The suffix *-ā* is added in *tēp-ā*, 'to strike'.

Compound verbs are extensively used. It seems as if the modifying word is generally prefixed, such as *pa-run*, 'to hear'; *toi-chā*, 'to eat'.

[LSI pp. 389-390]

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## 229 LIST OF SELECT WORDS AND SENTENCES IN THE BURMA GROUP

| *English* | *Mrū (Chittagong Hill Tracts)* |
|---|---|
| one | loke |
| two | prē |
| three | tsūm |
| four | tē-li |
| hand | bong |
| foot | klong |
| head | lū |
| a father | pā lo-yā |
| of a father | pā lo-yā lai |
| to a father | pā lo-yā tadē |
| two fathers | pā pre-yā |
| I am | ung nā |
| thou art | en nā |
| he is | pai-mi nā |
| we are | ung-ing nā |
| you are | kobūa nā |
| they are | en-ni nā |
| I was | ung wai |
| thou wast | en wai |
| he was | pai-mi wai |
| we were | ung-ing wai |
| you were | en-ni wai |
| they were | pai-mi wai |
| I shall be | ung nē-chyan |
| I beat | ung-nā tēb-ā |
| thou beatest | en nea tēp |
| he beats | pai-mi tēp-tā-khai |
| we beat | ā-ing tēb-ā |
| you beat | kobua tēp-tā-khai |
| they beat | en-ni tēp-tā-khai |
| I shall beat | ung-tēb-ā |

[LSI pp. 395-403]

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# VOL. IV

## MUṆḌĀ AND DRAVIDIAN LANGUAGES

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# MUṆḌĀ AND DRAVIDIAN

## INTRODUCTION

230 About one fifth of the total population of India speak languages belonging to the Muṇḍā and Dravidian families. These forms of speech have been called by anthropologists the languages of the Dravidian race.

The Dravidian race is not found outside India. The race is commonly considered to be that of the aborigines of India, or at least of Southern India. In the course of time numerous racial crossings have taken place. The possibility of such a conclusion is enhanced by a consideration of the languages spoken by the Dravidian race, which are Muṇḍā dialects, Singhalese and the Dravidian languages proper.

Singhalese occupies a position of its own and does not appear to have anything to do with the rest. It is an Aryan dialect and has been brought to Ceylon from India at a very early period. There appears to be tracts of a non-Aryan substratum, under the Aryan super-structure, but the nature of the substratum could not be analysed yet.

As regards the other two, opinion has been divided, some scholars thinking it possible to derive the Muṇḍā and Dravidian forms of speech from the same original, and others holding that they have nothing to do with each other.

A comparison of the vocabulary and the grammatical features, described in brief below, of both Muṇḍā and Dravidian show that they belong to different groups, and are not connected with each other.

*Phonology.* The most striking feature of Muṇḍā phonology is the existence of the so-called semi-consonants. There is nothing corresponding to these in Dravidian languages.



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*Formotion of words.* The Dravidian languages have nothing corresponding to the Muṇḍā infixes.

*Nouns.* Dravidian nouns are of two kinds, viz., those that denote rational beings and those that denote irrational beings, respectively. In Muṇḍā we find quite another principle of classification. Here we find the difference to be between animate and inanimate nouns.

Dravidian languages have two numbers, the singular and the plural. The Muṇḍā dialects have three.

The formation of case is quite different in the two families. The Muṇḍā languages do not possess anything corresponding to the Dravidian oblique case.

*Adjectives.* Adjectives are the same in both the languages. The same is, however, the case in almost all agglutinative languages.

*Numerals.* No connection whatever can be traced between the Muṇḍā and Dravidian numerals. Moreover, the principles prevailing in the formation of higher numbers are different in the two families. The Draviḍas count in tens, the Muṇḍās in twenties.

*Pronouns.* No connection occurs between the pronouns of the two families.

*Verbs.* Every trace of anology between the Muṇḍā and Dravidian families disappears when we proceed to deal with verbs. The whole conjugational system is quite different in both the families. The Dravidian system is very simple, only comprising two or three tenses; in Muṇḍā we find an almost bewildering maze of conjugational forms. The Dravidian verb can be characterised as a noun of agency; the Muṇḍā verb is an indefinite form which may be used at will as a noun, an adjective, or as a verb. The most characteristic features of the Muṇḍā verb, the categorical *a* and the incorporation of the direct and the indirect object in the verb, are in absolute discord with the Dravidian principles.

The two families only agree in such points as are common to

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most agglutinative languages, and there is no philological reason for deriving them from the same original.

The Muṇḍā languages agree in so many points with various forms of speech in Farther India, the Malay Peninsula, and the Nicobars, that there must be some connection between them all. The Dravidian languages, on the contrary, form an isolated group. There are no traces of connected forms of speech in the surrounding countries. Comparative philologists agree that the Muṇḍā languages, Khassi, Mōn-Khmēr, Nancowry, and the speech of the aboriginal races of the Malay Peninsula contain a common substratum, which cannot be anything else than the language of an old race which was once settled in those countries. No traces of common stock can be shown to exist in the Dravidian forms of speech, and from a philological point of view, it therefore seems probable that the Dravidian languages are derived from the speech of an aboriginal Dravidian population of Southern India.

[LSI pp. 1-5]

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# PART I

# MUṆḌĀ FAMILY

## INTRODUCTION

231 The Muṇḍā family is the least numerous of the four linguistic families which divide among themselves the bulk of the population of India.

The Muṇḍā family has been known under various names. But, the designation of the family as the 'Muṇḍā family' has been adopted for this survey because it is the name originally given by Prof. Max Müller, who first clearly distinguished the family from the Dravidian forms of speech, and also because other names which have been proposed are objectionable for other reasons.

The principal home of the Muṇḍā languages at the present day is the Chota Nagpur Plateau. Speakers are further found in the adjoining districts of Madras and Central Provinces and in the Mahadeo Hills. They are almost everywhere found in the hills and jungles, the plains and valleys being inhabited by people speaking some Aryan language.

There are several Aryanised tribes in Northern India who have certainly once spoken some Muṇḍā dialect. Traces of an old Muṇḍā element are apparently also met within several Tibeto-Burman dialects spoken in the Himalayas. At all events, Muṇḍā languages must once have been spoken over a wide area in Central India, and probably also in the Ganges Valley. [LSI pp. 7-9]

232 *Muṇḍā element in Dravidian and Aryan Languages.* It is no longer possible to decide to what extent the Muṇḍā languages can have influenced the other linguistic families of India. Attention will be drawn to a few facts in the introduction to the Dravidian family which apparently point to the existence of a Muṇḍā element in Dravidian grammar. In the case of Aryan languages the Muṇḍā influence is apparently unimportant. There



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is, however, one instance where Muṇḍā principles appear to have pervaded an Aryan language, viz., in the conjugation of Bihārī verb. The whole principle of indicating the object in the verb is thoroughly un-Aryan, but quite agrees with Muṇḍā grammar.

[LSI pp. 9-10]

233 *Relationship to other languages.* Within India proper the Muṇḍā dialects form an isolated philological group. In Farther India and on the Nicobar Islands, on the other hand, we find a long series of dialects which in so many important points agree with the Muṇḍā languages that it seems necessary to assume a certain connection. These languages include the so-called Mōn-Khmēr family, the dialects spoken by the oboriginal inhabitants of the Malayan Peninsula, and Nicobarese. [LSI p. 10]

234 *Mōn-Khmēr.* According to E. Kuhn there are unmistakable points of connection between the monosyllabic Khasi-Mōn-Khmēr family and the Muṇḍā language, Nancowry, and the dialects of the aborigines of Malacca. Though it would be rash to infer that the origin of both these languages was the same, it seems certain that there is at bottom a common substratum which has retained such strength that its traces are still clearly seen over the whole area. [LSI pp. 10-11]

235 *Relationship between Muṇḍā and Mōn-Khmēr languages.* The most characteristic feature of Muṇḍa phonology are the so-called semi-consonants k', ch', t', p'. They are formed in the mouth in the same way as the corresponding hard consonants *k, ch, t* and *p* but the sound is checked, and the breath does not touch the organs of speech in passing out. Some corresponding sounds exist in Sakei and connected languages. In Mōn-Khmēr forms of speech final consonants are, as a general rule, shortened in various ways.

The vocabulary of both families often agrees in a very striking manner, particularly there is a conspicuous similarity of the numerals.

The inflexional system and the structure of sentences, on the other hand, differ in both. The conjugation of verbs is also quite different.

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By taking into consideration all these facts, it seems that the Muṇḍā and the Mōn-Khmēr languages are derived from one and the same base. Each group has, however, had an independent history of its own, under the influence of various foreign elements. It seems probable that the Muṇḍā languages have developed the tendencies of the common parent tongue with greatest fidility. The tribes speaking them have led a more secluded existence than the Mōn-Khmērs. [LSI pp. 11-14]

236 *Muṇḍa dialects.* The Muṇḍā family comprises several dialects, viz., Santālī, Muṇḍārī Bhumij, Bīrhā̊r, Kōḍā, Hō, Tūrī, Asurī, Korwā, Kūrkū, Khaṛiā, Juāng, Savara, and Gadabā. Of these, the first nine are only slightly differing forms of one and the same language. All these tribes are, according to Santālī traditions, descended from the same stock, and were once known as Kherwārs ar Kharwārs. The dialects spoken by these nine tribes will in this survey be collected under the head of Kherwārī. Kherwārī is the principal Muṇḍā language, its dialects having been returned by full 88 percent of all the speakers of Muṇḍā tongues. Kherwārī is the only Muṇḍā form of speech which is comparatively free from the influence of neighbouring languages.

The remaining dialects are spoken by comparatively small tribes. They have all been largely influenced by Aryan languages, and, in the case of Savara and Gadabā, also by Dravidian forms of speech. [LSI pp. 21-22]

237 **General Character of Muṇḍā languages.**

*Phonology.* Muṇḍā languages are rich in vowels. The law of harmonic sequence is at work in Santālī, Muṇḍārī and apparently also in Kūrkū. These languages also possess a richly developed system of consonants. Hard and soft consonants are freely used, and both classes can be aspirated. In addition, semi-consonants are also found, which form a very characteristic feature of the Muṇḍā languages. These semi-consonants correspond to the so-called abrupt tone of Indo-Chinese languages. Similar sounds appear to exist in Sakei and Semang, and probably also in most Mōn-Khmēr languages. [LSI p. 22]

*Formation of words.* Words are formed from bases or other words by means of reduplication or by adding affixes. The most

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important means of modifying the meaning of a root is by insertion of infixes. Cf. the Muṇḍārī *ma-na-raṅ*, 'greatness' from *maraṅ*, 'great'. The Muṇḍā languages belong to that class which possesses a richly varied stock or words to denote individual things and ideas, but is extremely poor in general and abstract terms. Thus there are in Santālī at least twelve verbs which can be translated 'to carry', cf. *dipil*, 'to carry on the head', *gugu*, 'to carry on the back'; *hāo*, 'to carry astride the hip', and so forth. [LSI pp. 23]

*Classes of words.* The various classes of words are not distinguished. The same base can often be used as a noun, an adjective, or a verb. It is only from the context that we can decide whether a word denoting the idea 'to give' means 'giving' or 'given'. [LSI p. 23]

*Inflexional system.* The Muṇḍā inflexional system in many respects differs from that prevailing in Aryan and Dravidian languages. [LSI p. 23]

*Nouns.* Nouns do not differ for gender. The natural gender is distinguished by using different words or by adding words meaning 'male', 'female', respectively. Nouns, on the other hand, can be divided into two classes, viz., those that denote animate beings, and those that denote inanimate objects respectively.

There are three numbers, the singular, the dual, and the plural. These languages do not possess anything corresponding to the cases of the direct and indirect objects. These relations find their expression in the verb. [LSI pp. 23-24]

*Numeral.* Higher numbers are counted in twenties. [LSI pp. 25-26]

## KHERWĀRĪ

238 About eleven-twelfths of all Muṇḍās, in the wider sense of the term, speak slightly varying dialects of one language, viz., Kherwārī, i.e., the language of Kherwārs. The Kherwārī language is spoken from Bhagalpur and the Sonthal Parganas in the north to the Orissa Tributary States in the south, and from Morbhanj in the east to Sambalpur in the west.

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The most important form of Kherwārī is Santālī. It has two slightly different sub-dialects. Kārmālī and Māhlē, which connect Santālī with Kol dialects proper, Muṇḍārī, Bhumij, Birhâṛ, Kōḍā, and Hō. The remaining dialects, Tūrī, Asurī, and Korwā, are more closely related to Muṇḍārī than to Santālī.

[LSI pp. 28-29]

## SANTĀLĪ

239 Santālī is the most important of all the Muṇḍā languages. 'Santāl' is the name applied by foreigners to the tribe which has given its name to the Sonthal Parganas. Santāls call themselves *hâṛ-ko*, 'men', or *hâṛ hâpân*, 'man child'. When asked about their name and caste they usually apply the title Māñjhi, 'headman', to themselves.

Santālī is spoken over a strip of country extending for about 300 miles from the Ganges in the north to the Baitarani in the south. It comprises the south of Bhagalpur and Monghyr; the west of Birbhum and Burdwan; almost the whole of Bankura; the western corner of Midnapore; the greater portion of Morbhanj and Nilgiri; the northwest of Balasore; the north-east of Keonjhar; Sarai Kala; Khersawam; Manbhum; the Sonthal Parganas, and the east of Hazaribagh. There are further scattered settlements in the south west of Murshidabad, in the central parts of the 24-Parganas, in the jungles in the south of Dinajpur and the adjoining tracts of Malda, Rajshahi, and Bogra, and the south-west of Rangpur.

Santālī is nowhere the only language, and only in the Sonthal Parganas it is the principal one. Minor Muṇḍā dialects are found side by side with Santālī, and Aryan tribes have, generally speaking, occupied the plains.

Santālī is a remarkably uniform language. There are only two dialects, viz., Kārmālī and Māhlē, and even these do not differ much from the standard form of speech.

Santālī has, to some extent, been influenced by the neighbouring Aryan language. The influence is, however, mainly confined to vocabulary. Bihārī is the Aryan language which has most

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largely influenced Santālī. In the east the language has now come under the spell of Bengali, and in the south the influence of Oṛiyā is traceable.

The purest Santālī is spoken in the north, especially in the Sonthal Parganas and in Manbhum. The dialect spoken in Midnapore, Balasore, Singbhum, and the Orissa Tributary States is more mixed and shows signs of gradually yielding to Aryan influence. [LSI pp. 30-35]

*Pronunciation.* Santālī has a richly developed system of vowels. All the vowels can be short as well as long. All the vowels can be nasalised and are then marked in the usual way, *ã*, *ẽ*, and so forth. There is a set of vowels called neutral and marked by putting a dot under the vowel, thus, *a̤*, *e̤*, *i̤*, *o̤*, *ṳ*. The most common of these sounds, which partly plays a prominent role in the language, is the neutral *a̤*. It has a deep guttural sound. The neutral vowels are apparently always due to the influence of an *ī*, or *u* in the preceding or following syllable.

There is a distinct tendency in Santālī to approach the sound of vowels in consecutive syllables to each other. Thus *i* and *u* neutralize all vowels which come under their influence, but instead of the short or long *a̤*, *e̤*, *o̤*, thus produced, short or long *e*, *i*, *u* respectively are often met with, e.g. *kōṛā*, 'boy'; *kuṛī*, instead of *kōṛī*, 'girl'. In dissyllabic words if one of the syllables contains an *i* or *u*, the other usually contains a neutral or closed (*e* or *o*) vowel, and *vice versa*. If one of the syllables contains an *ā* or *ā̤*, the other syllable cannot as a rule contain an *e* or *o*, and *vice versa*.

Santālī possesses the same sets of consonants as Hindī, viz., four gutturals, four palatals, four cerebrals, four dentals, and four labials, with the corresponding nasals. They are written and pronounced as in Hindī. In addition to the sounds *y*, *r*, *ṛ*, *l*, *v*, *w*, *s* and *h*, there are four semi-consonants *k'*, *ch'*, *ṭ'*, *p'*, during the plosion of which the contact is released before the breath comes out, and in this way an abrupt sound is produced. [LSI pp. 36-39]



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*Accent.* In words of two syllables the accent usually rests on the first; thus, *sérma*, 'year'. The final syllable is, however, accented when it ends in a semi-consonant, when the last syllable is long and the first short, when it ends in *ñ*, and when it is a reduplicated or reflexive monosyllabic base. Thus, *sānák'*, 'go', *tehéñ*, 'to-day', *aḍú*, 'bring'. [LSI p. 39]

*Affixes.* Santālī makes use of numerous affixes of various kinds, prefixes, infixes and suffixes. Most of them play a role in what corresponds to the inflexional system of Indo-European languages. Here only a few infixes are described which are used in the formation of words.

An infix *-k'-* is used to form intensives from verbs. Distributives are, similarly, formed from some numerals beginning with vowels, thus, *âl*, 'write', intensive *âk'âl*; *ek'eae*, 'seven each', from *ēae*, 'seven'.

An infix *-p-* is used to form collective nouns and reciprocal verbs. Thus, *mañjhi*, 'headman'; *mapañjhi*, 'a collection of village headmen'. Similarly, infix *-n-* is used to form collective numerals and some nouns, and *-t-* to form nouns from verbs. [LSI pp. 39-40]

*Inflectional system.* In Santālī every word can perform the function of a verb, and every verb form can, according to circumstances, be considered as noun, an adjective or a verb. The relation of one word to another in a sentence is indicated by means of particles, the original meaning of which can no more be ascertained. In view of this it would be correct to say that a certain word performs the function of a noun, of an adjective, or of a verb, instead of saying that it is a noun, an adjective, or a verb. [LSI p. 40]

*Nouns : Gender.* There are two genders, one denoting all animate nouns, the other comprising all inanimate objects. The gender does not play any role in the inflexion of nouns. It is indicated by using different words or by prefixing some words meaning 'male', 'female', respectively. Thus, *aṇḍia kūl*, 'a male tiger'; *ēṅgā kūl*, 'a female tiger'.

*Number.* There are three numbers; the singular, the dual, and the plural. The suffix of the dual is *-kīn*, and that of the

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plural *-kō*. Thus, *hāṛ-kīn*, 'two men' ; *hāṛ-kō*, 'men'. The suffix of the plural is, however, often dispensed with, and the mere base is used as a collective singular.

*Case*. Real cases, such as denote the relation of the noun to a verb, do not exist in Santālī. The direct and indirect objects are indicated in the verb, and there is accordingly no such case as a dative or an accusative

Local and causal relations are indicated by means of post-positions, such as *tā*, 'to, in, into, by means of' ; *rā*, 'in, within'.

The genitive is formed by adding *rān*, when the governing noun is of the animate gender, and *ak'*, *añ*, *rēak'*, or *rēañ*, if it is an inanimate noun. [LSI pp. 40-41]

*Adjectives*. Adjectives do not change for gender, number, or case. It is often simply a matter of convenience which word is considered as a noun, and which as an adjective. Thus, we may say *Paṇḍu-rān hāpān-kin*, and *Paṇḍu-rān-kin hāpān*, 'Pandu's two sons'. In the first case the genitive *Paṇḍu-rān* is an adjective, in the second a noun is formed from it and the collective singular *hāpān*, 'child, young' is added as an adjective.

Comparison is effected in the usual way by putting a post-position meaning 'from' after the compared noun. *Arhā̃*, *artāt*, 'more', *barti*, 'more' ; *utar*, 'most', can also be added in order to indicate the higher or highest degree, Thus, *uni erhā̃-ā maraṅ-a*, 'he is greater' ; *uni-dā maran utar*, 'he is greatest'. [LSI p. 41]

*Numerals*. The higher numbers are counted in twenties ; thus, *pon-isi*, 'eighty'. Of late years, however, the Santālīs have apparently begun to count in tens. Numerals between tens are often formed by adding *khān*, 'more' and *kām*, 'less'.

[LSI pp. 41-42]

*Pronouns*. The pronouns are, generally speaking, inflected like nouns in number and case.

The personal pronouns have separate forms for the dual and the plural. The pronoun of the first person has, moreover, two forms each in the dual and in the plural, one excluding and one including the person addressed. Demonstrative pronouns are used

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as personal pronouns of the third person. There is also a pronoun meaning 'self', which can be considered as a personal pronoun of the third person. Thus, the first person, *iñ* 'I', singular, has the forms in dual, inclusive, *alaṅ*, exclusive, *aliñ*, and in plural, inclusive, *abo*, *abon*, exclusive, *alä* (*alän*).

If the person stands in case-relation to a verb, it is infixed in the verb itself. There are three sets of such infixes, one denoting the direct and one the indirect object, and a third denoting the genitive relation. The infixes of the direct object are like the pronominal suffixes; the dative infixes are formed from them by prefixing an *a*, and the genitive infixes by prefixing.

There are no honorific pronouns, and most people are addressed with the pronoun *am*, 'thou'.

Santālī possesses a rich variety of demonstrative pronouns. Some of them have different forms according to whether they refer to animate or inanimate objects, others are indeclinable in gender.

The former group ends in *i*, dual *kin*, plural *ko*, when referring to animate nouns, and *a*, dual *akin*, plural *ako*, if they refer to animate objects; thus, *nui*, 'this person, this animal'; *noa*, 'this thing'.

We can distinguish three different bases *ân* (*un*) and *ăn* (*in*) for the nearer, and *an* for the remoter objects. The difference between *ân* and *ăn* is that the latter denotes identity, this same, just this. The bases *ân* (*un*) and *ăn* (*in*) have each three different forms, one referring to what is close at hand, the second to what is a little farther off but still near, the third to what is still further off.

There is besides a set of lateral demonstratives, relating to something on the side.

There are still two sets of pronouns referring to something which is seen or heard, respectively. They are not inflected in case, but the suffixes of number can be added.

There are no relative pronouns. Verbal adjectives are used instead. The pronoun *ânä* is often used as a kind of relative.

[LSI pp. 42-45]

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*Verbs.* The verb is the most characteristic feature of Santālī grammar. Every independent word can perform the function of a verb, and every verbal form can, in its turn, be used as a noun or adjective. It is necessary to consider the base of each of the various tenses as an indifferent word which can, according to circumstances, be used as a noun, an adjective, or a verb, but which is in reality none of any of them. Each denotes simply the root meaning as modified by time, which may be called as inflexional base.

*The categorical a.* Various tenses are formed from these inflexional bases by agglutination, i.e., by suffixing certain elements to the unchanged root. The root plus tense suffix does not imply that an action really takes place. The reality of the action is denoted by suffixing the categorical *a*, which at once changes the inflexional base to a finite tense. This *a* is only added where the action indicated by the verb has independent reality.

*Auxiliaries and pronominal infixes.* If the action of the verb has an indirect or direct object, this must be indicated in the verb by means of the pronominal infixes, which must be inserted between the inflexional base and the categorical *a*, or, if an auxiliary verb is added, between it and the inflexional base. The same is the case if the object of an action belongs to somebody. The genitive infix follows the infix of the direct or indirect object. Thus, *dal-ked-e-tae-a*, '(he) struck-him-his, he struck him who belonged to him'.

*Voices.* The Santālī verb has separate forms for the active voice, the passive or direct middle voice, and the indirect middle voice.

*Conjugational bases.* The root of the verb which remains unchanged through all tenses, can be modified in two ways to form the base of a separate conjugation. The root can, in the first place, be simply repeated, and the resulting double base denotes repeated or intensified action. Thus *dal*, 'strike', *dal-dal*, 'strike repeatedly or hard'. These forms are conjugated throughout all tenses. If only the first two letters are repeated, the resulting reduplicated base becomes a kind of intensive or rather conative; thus *da-dal*, 'to strike much'. If the verb begins with a vowel,

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the infix *-k'-* is used instead of the reduplication. The infix *-k'-* is also used in polysyllabic verbs beginning with a consonant, thus, *bek'nao*, 'to make' from *benao*, 'to make'.

Causatives are formed from both simple and reduplicated bases by adding *-ocho* ; thus, *dal-ocho* and *dal-dal ocho*, 'to cause to strike'. The causative has a double meaning. In the first place it means 'to cause somebody to do something', and then it also has the meaning 'to allow somebody to do something'. In the former sense the object infix *-ko-* is used, and in the latter the dative infix *-añ-*.

*Reservative (continuative).* The reservative conjugation denotes an action by which the object brought into a certain state, in which it is allowed to continue, so as to be available for any ulterior purpose. This form has also separate causative and reciprocal bases. It usually means that the action is completed. Cf. *adâ-ä-ñäl-hape-kat'-ge-a*, 'so-he saw-kept-quite, he saw it and kept quite'.

*Person.* Verbs do not change for person. The person of the subject is, however, in the case of animate beings indicated by means of pronominal suffixes. The suffixes are added to the word immediately preceding the verb. If the sentence only consists of a verb the suffix is added after the categorical *a*.

*Inflexional bases.* The mere base gives the idea of the action generally, without being confined to any special time present or past. This base is used in general statements in vivid narrations, in order to denote custom or habit, and most commonly, as a future. Thus, *dal-añ*, 'I strike or shall strike'.

The various suffixes of time have two forms, one denoting the active, and another the passive and middle. The former ends in *t*,' the latter in *n*. Thus, *dal-let'-a-e*, 'he struck' ; *dal-len-a-e*, 'he was struck'.

There are two infixes which denote an action in the past, viz., *-ke-* and *-le-*, *-ke-* is only used in the active voice with a direct object. Thus, *dal-ked-e-a-e*, 'he struck him'. The infix *-le-* denotes something which was done in a more remote past, or the effect of which has been superseded by some later action. It

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is used in the active voice with a direct object and in the passive. Thus, *dal-let'-a-e*, 'he struck, he had struck'; *dal-len-a-e*, 'he was struck, he struck himself'.

Compound tenses are formed by inserting the auxiliaries between the inflexional base and *a*. The most usual auxiliary verbs are the copula *kan* and its past *tahă-kan*. Thus, *dal-ed-e-kan-a-e* or *dal-e-kan-a-e*, 'he is striking him'; *dal-led-e-tahă-kan-a-e*, 'struck-having-him-was-he, he has struck him'.

Most of the particles in Santālī are independent words. Thus, *măn-khan*, 'but', lit. 'if you say'; *ăn-ră-hã̆-*. 'still', lit. 'that-in-also'.

The usual negative is a prefixed *baṅ*. The final *n* is dropped before pronominal suffixes. Thus, *ba-ko dal-let'-a*, 'not-they struck. they did not strike'. [LSI pp. 45-51]

## KĀRMĀLĪ OR KÂLHÄ

240 The Kārmālī dialect is spoken by a caste of iron smelters who live in the south Sonthal Parganas, in the scattered settlements in the south of Hazaribagh district, and in the north of Manbhum. The speakers are called Kol by the Hindus and Kâlhã̆ by the Santāls.

The dialect does not much differ from the ordinary Santālī. [LSI p. 70]

*Pronunciation*. The neutralizing power *i* and *u* is not so strong as in standard Santālī: thus, *buba* and *buḅa*, 'father'. Diphthongs, such as *ae*, *âe*, *ao* are commonly simplified.

The most important phonological peculiarities of the dialect are the changes of *ṛ* to *r*; of initial *ñ* to *n* and *l*: and in some cases, of *r* to *l*. Thus, *hâr* standard, *hâṛ*, 'man'; *nam*, standard *ñam*, 'get'; *lel*, standard *ñal*, 'see'. [LSI pp. 70-71]

*Inflexion*. The inflexion of nouns and pronouns is regular. The numerals six to ten are Aryan loan words. 'Twenty' is *mīt' kūrī*, and 'hundred', *mârā kūrī*.

The categorical *a* in verbal forms is generally dispensed with in the singular; thus, *tahă-kan-iñ*, 'I was'; *gūjūk'-kan-iñ*, 'I die'.

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The pronominal suffixes denoting the subject are often added to the verb and not to the word preceding it. [LSI p. 71]

## MĀHLĒ

241 The Māhlēs are a caste of labourers, palanquin-bearers and workers in bamboo in Chota Nagpur and Western Bengal. They speak a dialect of Santālī.

The principal home of the dialect is the central and southern portion of the Sonthal Parganas and the adjoining parts of Birbhum and Manbhum.

Māhlē is closely related to Kārmālī [LSI p. 74]

*Pronunciation.* Diphthongs are often simplified in the same way as in Kārmālī. *N* and *l* correspond to standard *ñ* in the beginning words. Thus, *nīnda*, standard *ñīnda*, 'night'; lūtūm, standard *ñūtūm*, 'name'. *ṛ* becomes *r* as in Kārmālī. Thus, *kâr*, standard *hâṛ*; *kōrā*, standard *kōṛā*, 'boy'. *r* often becomes *l*. [LIS p. 75]

*Inflexion*, The declension of nouns and pronouns is mainly regular.

The numerals 'six' and following, and, in counting, often also the first five, are commonly Aryan loan-words.

The conjugation of verbs is also regular, though some forms have a peculiar appearance under the influence of rules of pronunciation mentioned above.

The causative suffix is *-sâ*; thus, *dāl-sâk'-ken-iñ*, 'I am caused to be struck, I am struck'.

The categorical *a* is often dropped, specially in the singular, or else replaced by *ē*; *dal-īñ*; 'I shall strike'; *hăndăñ-ē*, 'I am'.

The present tense of finite verbs is formed by adding the suffix *-et'*; thus *dāl-et'-iñ*, 'I strike'.

The inanimate infix *-ek'-*, *-ak'-*, etc., is apparently used much more freely than in standard. The past tenses are regularly formed. [LSI pp. 75-76]

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## MUṆḌĀRĪ

242 Muṇḍārī is the dialect spoken by the tribe who call themselves *hâṛâ-kō*, or 'men'. The principal home of the Muṇḍās, the speakers of the dialect, is the southern and western portion of Ranchi District. There are, moreover, speakers in Palamau and the south-east of Hazaribagh. Towards the south we find Muṇḍārī spoken side by side with Hō in the north of Singbhum. Speakers are further found scattered over the Chota Nagpur area, in Bamra and Sambalpur and in the neighbouring districts of Madhya Pradesh. The emigrants have further brought the dialect in some of the districts of Bengal and Assam.

With regard to sub-dialects Muṇḍārī can be compared with Santālī. The difference is mainly to be found in the vocabulary borrowed from Aryan neighbours and in the grammatical modifications occasioned by the neighbouring Aryan forms of speech.

The most idiomatic Muṇḍārī is spoken in Mankipatti, a tract of land to the south-east of the town of Ranchi, comprising Tamar and a part of Singbhum. [LSI pp. 79-80]

*Pronunciation.* The laws of harmonic sequence are apparently the same as in Santālī. Cf. *Kōṛa*, 'boy'; *Kūṛī*, 'girl'. *E* and *i*, *o* and *u*, respectively, are often interchanged. Thus, *bīrit'*, Santālī, *beret'*, 'arise'; *ābū*, Santālī, *a-bō*, 'we'. Muṇḍārī has preserved fuller forms of many words. Cf. *hâṛâ*, Santālī *hâṛ*, 'man'; *jūlū*, Santālī *jēl*, 'deer'. An initial *ñ* becomes *n*, and an initial *n* is further often changed to *l*; thus, *nām*, Santali *ñām*, 'get'.

In the pronunciation of semi-consonants there appears to be a tendency to exhale the current of the air through the nose instead of through the mouth. In pronouncing the dental semi-consonant, a greater part of the tongue strikes against the palate than is the case in Santālī. The semi-consonants have the same tendency to develop into soft consonants as in Santālī; thus, *dal-ked-i-a*, 'struck him'; but *dal-ket'-chi*, 'having struck'.

[LSI pp. 83-84]

*Nouns.* Genders and numbers are the same as in Santālī. The dual and the plural are sometimes confounded in the districts

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of Sambalpur, Bamra and Jashpur, where the Aryan influence is the strongest.

The case suffixes are mainly the same as in Santālī. The Aryan suffix *-kē* begins to be used for the dative and accusative outside the Ranchi District. [LSI p. 85]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives very commonly end in *-n*; thus, *buɡi-n*, 'good'. [LSI p. 85]

*Numerals.* Higher numbers are always counted in twenties. [LSI p. 85]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns are the same as in Santālī. 'I and he' is *ālīŋ*, 'I and you' *ābū*.

Muṇḍārī does not appear to possess the rich variety of demonstrative pronouns, which are found in Santālī. [LSI p. 85]

*Verbs.* The inflexion of verbs is mainly the same as in Santālī. The categorical *a* is dropped after the pronominal infix *-ak'-*; thus, *ni-tāk'-lāṅ*, 'we two shall set the door ajar'. The pronominal infixes play the same role in Santālī. The conjugational bases are formed as in Santālī. Cf. *dal*, 'strike'; intensive, *dadal*; reciprocal *dapal*.

The suffix of the causative is *-ichi* or *-chi*; thus, *sēn-ichi-tan-a-īŋ*, 'I make him go'.

The inflexional bases are, broadly speaking, formed as in Santālī.

In a few characteristics, however, Muṇḍārī differs from Santālī. The copula or verb substantive is *tan*, 'past' *tāe-ken-ā*. The suffixes *-et'*, *-en* become *-yat'*, *-yet'* and *-yan*, respectively.

The future and usually also the past tense of 'reservative' (continuative) form, begin with *t* where Santālī has *k*; thus, *dāl-tāk'-e*, 'he will strike it'; *tâl-tāch'-ā-e*, 'he bound him'.

The perfect is formed as in Santālī. The infixes of the direct and indirect object are not, however, distinguished. Thus, *sēn-ākan-ā*, 'has walked'; *ōm-ākat'-iñ-ā-e*, he has given to me'.

The negative particles are *kā* and *alō*. [LSI pp. 85-86]

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## BHUMIJ

243 Bhumij dialect is almost identical with Muṇḍārī. It is spoken by the Bhumij tribe of Singbhum and neighbourhood. The Aryan postposition *ke* is commonly used in the dative and the accusative, and the genitive of pronouns is usually formed after the model *am-ag-ak'*, 'thy' [LSI pp. 94-96]

## BĪRHÂṚ

244 Bīrhâṛ, literally means, 'Forest-man', is spoken by a small tribe in the districts of Hazaribagh, Ranchi and Singbhum. Bīrhâṛ is more closely connected with Muṇḍārī than with Santālī. The tribe has probably been more numerous in former days than it is now, and it is probably only a question of time when the Bīrhâr dialect will cease to exist. [LSI p. 102]

*Inflexional system.* The declension of nouns and pronouns is the same in Muṇḍārī. The suffix of the duel is *-kīn* ; thus, *āpōt-kīn*, 'two fathers'.

The conjugation of verbs is mainly the same as in Muṇḍārī.

The suffixes of the past tense are *-ed*, *-ad*, passive *en*, *ān* and *yan*. Thus, *nam-ed-e-ā-e*, 'he found him' ; *ād-en*, 'lost' ; *khisāo-yan-ā-e*, 'he got angry'. The suffixes *-ed* and *-ad*, correspond to Santālī, *-et'* and *-at'*.

The negative particle is *ka* as in Muṇḍārī. [LSI p. 103]

## KŌḌĀ OR KŌṚĀ

245 The Kōḍās are spread over a rather large area in the central portion of the Bengal Presidency. Their old home is, according to their own traditions, Dhalbhum, Manbhum, and the neighbouring localities, i.e., the tracts of country now inhabited by the Bhumij and Muṇḍārī tribes. To a great extent the Kōḍās lead a wandering life and it is not, therefore, possible to draw up exact boundaries of the area within which they are found.

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The language of the Kōḍās is not a uniform dialect, and the materials available are not sufficient for judging its nature in all the various localities. The language spoken in Singbhum and Manbhum is almost pure Muṇḍārī. [LSI pp. 107-109]

*Pronunciation.* The phonetic system of this dialect is the same as in Muṇḍārī. Cf. *hâṛâ*, 'man'; *nān*, 'get', *upun-iā*, 'four'. Final *ñ* and *n* are usually retained unchanged; thus, *iñ*, 'I'; *īn-kīn*, 'they two'. [LSI p. 109]

*Inflexional system.* The inflexion of nouns and pronouns is the same as in Muṇḍārī. The suffixes of the genitive *-rēn* and *-ak'* are used promiscuously.

The numerals are the same as in Muṇḍārī. Aryan loan words are used for the numerals six and following.

The conjugation of verbs is mainly the same as in Muṇḍārī. The pronominal infix and suffix of the third person singular is often *īch'* instead of *e*; *dāl-ed-ich'-tan-ā-ñ*, 'I strike him'. The suffix *-et'*, passive *-en*, is used to denote past time; thus, *dāl-et'-ā-ñ*, 'I struck'. [LSI pp. 109-110]

## HŌ OR LAṚKĀ KOL

246 Hō is the dialect spoken by a Muṇḍā tribe in Singbhum and the neighbouring states of Kharsawan and Sarai Kala, and the adjoining districts of Morbhanj, Keonjhar and Gangpur.

Hō is the name of a tribe and the language is often called Hō-Kājī, i.e., the language of the Hōs. [LSI p. 116]

The dialect has no literature. It is almost identical with Muṇḍārī. The only difference of importance is the treatment of the cerebral *ṛ*. It is retained in Muṇḍārī, but dropped in Hō. Cf. *hō*, Muṇḍārī *hâṛâ*, 'a man'; *koa*, Muṇḍārī *kōṛā*, 'a boy'.

The semi-consonants are treated as in Muṇḍārī. The final *t'* of verbal tenses commonly becomes *d* or *ḍ* or else it is retained, but very weekly sounded. [LSI p. 118]

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## TŪRĪ

247 Tūrī is spoken by a Hinduised off-shoot of the Muṇḍās settled in Ranchi, the Jashpur State, Sambalpur, and Sarangarh. Tūrī agrees with Muṇḍā in most essential points. In a few characteristics, however, it follows Santālī, as against Muṇḍārī.

In Sambalpur the Tūrī dialect is almost pure Muṇḍārī. The forms, such as *pēā*, 'three'; *pūniā*, 'four', in Tūrī agree with Santālī, as does the phonology of the dialect in most points.

The inflexion of nouns and pronouns is mainly regular. The dative-accusative adds the Aryan *-ke*, and the two genders are occasionally confounded. Thus, *ap-tai-ke*, 'to his father'; *sukri-ren-jojomak*, 'the swine's food'.

The inflexion of verbs agrees with Santālī. The distinction between the various suffixes which are used to denote past time is rather loose. On the whole, however, the conjugation is regular. [LSI pp. 128-129]

## ASURĪ

248 Asurī is the dialect spoken by the Asurs, a non-Aryan tribe of Chota Nagpur.

Like Tūrī, Asurī is a dialect of Kherwārī, the two principal forms of which are Santālī and Muṇḍārī. Asurī is more closely related to the latter than to the former, though it, in many respects agree with Santālī. [LSI pp. 135-137]

*Pronunciation.* The pronunciation mainly agrees with Muṇḍārī. The palatal *ñ*, however, does not become *n*, but is retained or else changed to *y*; thus, *ñel*, 'see', *yam*, 'get'. An initial *h* sometimes change to *v*; thus, *vātū*, 'village', *vej-u* (*k'*), 'come'. This must be due to Dravidian influence, as initial *v* or *w* is unknown in Santālī. [LSI p. 137]

*Nouns.* The inflexion of nouns is quite regular. The suffixes of the dual and the plural are *kiṅ*, *kū* (or *kō*), respectively. The dative-accusative is sometimes formed by adding the Aryan suffix *-kē*. Usually, however, the dative and accusative are indicated in the verb. [LSI p. 138]

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*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns are regular. 'I' is *iṅ*, and 'you two', *aban*. The demonstrative pronouns are *hinī* 'this'; *hunī*, and *hũi* 'that'. Besides, we also find *minī* and *munī*.

[LSI p. 138]

*Verbs.* There is a verb *īdan-ā*, '(he) is', which is often used as an impersonal verb; thus, *īdan-me-ā*, 'thou art'.

The passive is formed by adding *-o* or *-vā*, i.e., *-ok'*. Thus, *sen-o(k')-ā*, 'I shall go'.

The future does not take any suffix. Thus, *rū-e-y-ā*, 'I shall strike'. The suffix of the present is *-tan*; thus, *ñel-ran-ā-e*, 'he sees'. In the past many forms are used.

The negative particles are *kā*, *alo*, and *alo-kā*.

[LSI pp. 138-139]

## KORWĀ

249 The Korwā dialect is closely related to Asurī. It is spoken by Korwā tribe, which is found in various parts of Chota Nagpur, especially in Palamau, Jashpur and Sarguja. They also occupy a tract of country in Mirzapur, to the south of the river Son, and along the Sarguja frontier.

The language of the Korwās is not the same in all places. Many Korwās now use a form of speech which is very closely related to Muṇḍārī and Santālī. They are apparently gradually abandoning their old speech.

The most idiomatic Korwā is spoken in Jashpur and Sarguja, the south of Palamau and Mirzapur. The following grammatical remarks pertain to this dialect. The materials available are not of satisfactory nature. [LSI pp. 147-149]

*Pronunciation.* The pronunciation is in several particulars the same as in Asurī. Thus the initial palatal *ñ* is retained, or else changed to *y*. Cf. *ñām* and *yām*, 'get'. There is a common tendency to change the semi-consonant *t'* in verbal forms to *ḍ*, *ṛ* and *r*. Cf. *yam-keṛ-ā*, 'got'; *katā-ter-ā*, 'said'.

[LSI pp. 149-150]

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*Nouns.* The inflexion of nouns is, mainly speaking, regular. Postpositions, such as *kā*, *kiā*, *sudhā*, 'to', are borrowed, and the dialect is, on the whole, no more pure. [LSI p. 150]

*Numerals.* The numerals 'four' and the following are borrowed. [LSI p. 150]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns are apparently regular. Thus, *āiṅg* and *iṅg*, 'I' ; *alē* 'we' (exclusive), *abū*, 'we' (inclusive).

In the case of demonstrative pronouns we find the same forms beginning with *m* as in Asurī. Cf. *hãe*, *mãe* and *wãe* 'he' ; *man*, 'that', and so forth. [LSI p. 150]

*Verbs.* The indefinite future tense is regularly formed. Thus, *jom-ā*, 'he is eating' ; *chalao-a*, 'I shall go'.

The usual present tense is formed as in Muṇḍārī, by adding the suffix *-tan*. Thus, *rijh-raṅg-jom-tan*, 'they feast and eat'. In Jashpur *-tā* is commonly used instead of *-tan*, and such forms often have the meaning of a future. Thus, *gujuk'-tā*, 'I am dying'.

The various forms of the past tense are denoted by means of the same suffixes as in Santālī and Muṇḍari. The Muṇḍrāī suffix *-tet'* occurs as *-ted*, *-teḍ*, *-teṛ*, and *-ter*. Thus, *sab-ted-ā* 'I have seized'.

The imperative is regular. Thus, *ow-ai-mī*, 'give him'.

The noun of agency is formed as in Asurī.

The negative particle is *mē* in Jashpur, *minē* in Mirzapur and *menē* or *nē* in Palamau. [LSI pp. 150-151]

## KŪRKŪ

250 The Kūrkūs are the westernmost Mūṇḍā tribe. Their home are the Satpura and Mahadeo Hills.

There is only one sub-dialect of Kūrkū, the so-called Muwāsī, spoken in Chhindwara. It does not differ much from ordinary Kūrkū. Kūrkū is a dialect of the same kind as Khaṛiā and Juāṅg. It has not, however, been influenced by Aryan dialects to the same extent as those forms of speech, and is more closely related to Kherwārī than they are. [LSI pp. 167-169]

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*Pronunciation.* The phonetical system is, broadly, the same as in Santālī. There is a deep guttural *a* which apparently corresponds to the neutral *a̤* of Santālī. The class consonants are the same as in Santālī. In addition to the palatals the dialect possesses the sounds *ts* and *dz*. This may be due to the influence of Marāṭhī. Kūrkū further possesses a *zh*, an *ṛ* an *ṛh*, and the same set of semi-consonants as Santālī The semi-consonants have a tendency to be replaced by the corresponding soft consonants that has been observed in connected dialects. Thus, '*kākap*,' 'to bite,' present *kākab-bā*. [LSI p. 169]

*Nouns : Gender.* There are two genders, one denoting animate beings and the other denoting inanimate objects. The two genders are, however, often confounded. The natural gender is indicated in the usual way, by means of different words, or by adding words meaning 'male' and 'female', respectively.

*Number.* There are three numbers, the singular, the dual, and the plural. Number is only marked in the case of animate nouns. The suffix of dual is *-kiṅg* and that of the plural *-kū*.

*Case.* The cases are generally expressed by adding suffixes. The cases of direct and indirect objects are often left unmarked. Usually, however, the postposition *ken* is added, which is due to the Aryan influence ; thus *kon-ken*, 'to the son'. [LSI pp. 169-170]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives do not change for gender, number, or case. Comparison is effected by putting the compared noun in the ablative. [LSI p. 170]

*Numerals.* Higher numbers are counted in twenties ; thus *upūn isā* ; 'eighty'. Aryan forms are, however, commonly used instead. [LSI p. 170]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *iṅg* ; for 'thou' is *am* ; for 'he' is *dich*'. Pronominal suffixes are used in order to denote the direct and indirect object with verbs.

There are no relative pronouns. The various tenses and the nouns of agency are used instead. [LSI pp. 170-171]

*Verbs.* The conjugation of verbs is simpler than in Kherwārī. Thus there are no traces of categorical *a* ; the direct and indirect

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objects are not distinguished, and, in a similar way, the same form is used to denote the passive and middle voices; the number of inflexional bases is more restricted; and the subject of the verb is not indicated by means of pronominal suffixes. On the whole, however, the conjugational system is the same as in Kherwārī.

The subject of the verb is not usually indicated in the verb. The number of the subject is indicated by adding the usual dual and plural suffixes in the case of the verb *tich'-kā*, or *tā-kā*, 'to be'; thus, *dī-kū tick'-kā-kū*, 'they are'.

The direct and indirect objects are usually, but not always, indicated by adding the suffix forms of the personal pronouns. There is apparently a tendency to discard these forms altogether.

*Conjugational bases.* The active and passive voices are distinguished as in Kherwārī. The suffix of the passive base is *-ū* or *-yū*; thus, *guj-ū*, 'to die'; *mū-yū*, 'to enter'.

Reduplicated bases are of frequent occurrence. Thus, *bī* and *bī-bī*, 'to fill'; *kūl* and *ku-kul*, 'to send'.

Causative bases are formed by prefixing *ā-* or by suffixing *-ki*. Thus, *nū*, 'to drink'; *annū*, 'to give to drink'.

*Inflexional bases.* The various inflexional bases can be used as nouns, as adjectives, and as verbs.

The simple base is used as a kind of subjunctive. Thus, *dich' bīt'*, 'he may, or should, rise'.

As in Kherwārī, there are three different sets of suffixes denoting past tense, one beginning with a vowel, another beginning with *-k*, and the third beginning with *-l*.

Compound tenses are formed by combining the inflexional base with auxiliaries. The most common auxiliary is *tich'-kā* or *tā-kā*, 'is'. The simplest form of the copula is *kā*, past *dān*. Other auxiliaries are *sen*, *lap-ken* or *lap-jen*. Thus, *dich' bīt' -ken kā*, 'he has risen'; *dich' dān-sen*, 'he has been'.

The negative particle is *bang* or *hē ban'g*, which sometimes precedes and sometimes follows the principal verb.



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## NAHALĪ

**251** Nahālī is the language of Nahāls of Nimar. It is strongly Aryanised, and probably on its way towards becoming an Aryan form of speech. The base of the dialect is probably a Muṇḍā language of the same kind as Kūrkū. Then there is an admixture of Dravidian, and finally an Aryan superstructure. [LSI p. 185]

*Nouns.* There is apparently no grammatical gender and no dual. The usual plural suffix is *-ṭā* ; thus *ābā-ṭā*, 'fathers'.

The cases are generally expressed by adding suffixes. The genitive is formed by adding one of the suffixes *-kē*, *-kū*, *-n*, *-nē*, and *-kā*. Thus, *mānchu-kē*, 'of a man' ; *ḍhol-kā*, 'of drums'. [LSI p. 185]

*Numerals.* The numerals for 'two', 'three', and 'four' are Dravidian. Numeral 'one', probably is Kherwārī or Khassi. The remaining numerals are Aryan. [LSI pp. 185-186]

*Pronouns.* The pronoun *jo*, 'I' is peculiar to the dialect. *iṅgē*, and *iṅ*, 'my', seem to be Muṇḍā forms. *Nē* 'thou', on the other hand, is Dravidian. [LSI p. 186]

*Verbs.* The verb substantive is *kā* as in *kūrkū*.

The present tense of finite verbs is formed by adding *-gā* ; thus, *ughāiṅ-gā*, 'lives'. Instead of *-gā*, *-kā* is also found.

The future seems to be identical with the present. The suffix *-gā* or *-kā* also occurs as *-gēn* or *-kēn*. Thus, *ēr-gā*, 'I shall go' ; *ugāiṅ-gēṅ*, 'we shall become'.

The past tense is expressed by several suffixes. In the case of transitive verbs there is a tendency to introduce the passive or impersonal construction usual in Aryan languages Thus, *hoytarē-n dhan-māl aṭāya*, 'him by property was divided'.

The imperative is formed by adding suffixes *-ē* or *-kē* ; thus, *ēr-ē*, 'go' ; *bē-kē*' 'give'.

The negative particles are *bē*, *bēṭa*, *bēṭē* and *hoṭē* ; thus, *bēko*, 'no' ; *bēṭā-bē*, 'did not give'. [LSI pp. 186-187]

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## KHAṚIĀ

252 Khaṛiā is the dialect of a cultivating tribe in Chota Nagpur. Khaṛiās are found over a wide tract of country, from Bankura in the east to Chhattisgarh Feudatory States in the west. Many Khaṛiās have abandoned their original language for some Aryan or Dravidian form of speech. The territory within which Khaṛiā is spoken does not, therefore, coincide with the home of the tribe. The strong-hold of the Khaṛiā language is the south-western corner or Ranchi and the adjoining portions of Jashpur and Gangpur.

Khaṛiā is a dying language, and it is probably very corrupt in those districts where it is only spoken by very few individuals. The vocabulary of the dialect is strongly Aryanised, and Aryan principles have pervaded the grammatical structure.

[LSI pp. 190-192]

*Pronunciation.* Khaṛiā uses the semi-consonants in the same way as other Muṇḍā dialects. They have also the same tendency to be changed to soft consonants or else to nasals, which is observed in various dialects of Kherwāṛī. [LSI p. 192]

*Nouns : Gender.* Khaṛiā has apparently given up the distinction between animate and inanimate genders. There is no difference in the verb if the subject is inanimate. The natural gender is distinguished in the usual way, but this distinction only concerns the vocabulary, and has nothing to do with grammar.

*Number.* There are three numbers as in Kherwāṛī, the singular, the dual, and the plural. The suffix of the dual is *-kijar*, *-kiyar* or *-jār*, and that of the plural is *-ki*.

*Case.* The cases are generally expressed by adding suffixes. Khaṛiā has abandoned the Muṇḍā practice of expressing the cases of the direct and indirect object in the verb, and as such those cases are indicated by adding postpositions to the noun. This is due to the influence of Aryan and Dravidian vernaculars.

[LSI pp. 192-193]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives do not change for gender, number, or case. Comparison is expressed by putting the compared noun in the ablative. [LSI p. 193]

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*Numerals* The first six numerals correspond to those in use in other Muṇḍā dialects. The numerals for 'seven' 'eight' and 'nine' on the other hand, correspond to Savara. Higher numbers are counted in twenties as in other Muṇḍā languages. [LSI p. 193]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *iṅg* ; for 'thou' is *am* ; for 'he, she' is *aḍi* or *aṛi*. *Aḍi* is apparently a Dravidian loan-word. Cf. Telugu *vāḍu*, 'he' ; Kurukh *aḍi*, 'she'.

Pronominal suffixes are used with verbs in order to denote the person of the subject. These suffixes are very commonly dropped in the third person singular. The pronominal suffixes are also used after nouns of relationship. [LSI pp. 193-194]

*Verbs.* In the conjugation of verbs Khaṛiā has been much influenced by the Aryan and Dravidian neighbours. The direct and indirect objects are no longer expressed in the verb ; there is no particle which changes the base of a certain tense to a finite tense, and the pronominal suffixes are usually added to the verb.

The person of the subject is expressed by adding the pronominal suffixes. They are often dropped when the subject is a personal pronoun.

*Voice.* The passive voice is formed by adding *-ḍom* to the base. Thus, *joṛe-ḍom-ki*, 'he was joined'. *Jom* is also used for the purpose.

*Tenses.* The bases of various tenses sometimes differ in transitive and intransitive verbs. The passive voice in such cases, is inflected like an intransitive.

The future and indefinite present is formed by adding *-e* in transitive, and *-nā* in intransitive verbs. Thus, *ole*, 'he will bring ; *gil-ḍom-nā-iṅg*. 'I am struck'.

The definite present is formed by adding *-tā* or *-te* ; thus, *ol-tā-ki*, 'they bring'.

Simple past is formed by adding *-o* in transitive, and *-ki* in intransitive verbs ; thus, *ol-o*, 'brought' ; *chol-ki*, 'went'.

The imperative is formed like the future ; thus, *ol-e*, 'bring'.

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The verbal noun is formed by adding *-nā* ; thus, *ol-nā*, 'to bring'.

*Negative verb.* The negative particle is *om*, to which the pronominal suffixes can be added. Thus, *iṅg om (-iṅg) ol-e*, 'I did not bring'. [LSI pp. 194-196]

## JUĀṄG OR PATUĀ

253 Juāṅg is the dialect of a Muṇḍā tribe settled in Dhenkanal and Keonjhar States. Some speakers are also found in the neighbouring tracts of Marbhang and Pal Lahera. The Juāṅg territory forms an islet within the Oṛiya area, and the latter language has largely influenced Juāṅg and will probably in the course of time supersede it. It has abandoned the most prominent Muṇḍā characteristics, and its inflexional system is more closely in accordance with Aryan principles than is the case with Muṇḍā languages proper. [LSI p. 209]

*Nouns.* Several suffixes, such as *-ra* or *-r*, *-ñge*, *-de* are used with the nouns ; thus, *buyi-ra*, 'mother' ; *koni-ñge*, 'son' : *iti-ḍe*, 'the belly'.

*Gender.* There is no grammatical gender in the dialect.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The suffix of the plural is *-ki* as in Khaṛiā. It is often preceded by an *r*. Thus, *loka*, 'a man' ; *loka-r-ki*, 'men'.

*Case.* The cases are indicated by adding suffixes. [LSI p. 210]

*Numerals.* The numerals are Aryan loan words. Besides, however, the old Muṇḍā words for 'one' and 'two' are also used. Higher numbers are counted in twenties. [LSI p. 211]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun of 'I' is *aiṅ*, *āiñje* ; for 'thou' is *ām-ḍe*, *āman-ḍe* ; for 'he' is *ār*, *airi*, *āuri*.

Pronominal suffixes and infixes do not appear to be used. However, pronominal prefixes *m-*, *n-*, and *h-* are sometimes prefixed to verbal tenses in order to indicate that the subject is of the second person singular, the first person plural, and the second person plural, respectively. [LSI p. 211]

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*Verbs*. The conjugation of verbs is of the same kind as in Khaṛiā.

The person of the subject is sometimes marked by means of pronominal prefixes. Thus, 'I go' is *āiṅ haṇḍe*.

The future is formed by adding an-*e* and *-nā*; thus, *abhaj-e*, 'I shall strike'; *janāmal-nā*, 'it will be known'.

The present is formed by adding the suffixes *-ke* and *-ḍe*; thus, *sare-ke*, 'he is grazing; *kaba-ḍe*, 'he is making'.

There are various suffixes denoting past tense, such as, *-e* and *-nā*, *-o* or *-a*, *-sor*.

The suffixes of the future *-e* and *-nā* are occasionally used to denote the past; *kib-e*, 'thou madest'.

The negative particles are a prefixed *mā-* and a suffixed *je-nā*; thus, *bhānge-je-nā*, 'I did not break'.

The verb *jim*, 'to eat', is used as an auxiliary verb in order to form a passive. Thus, *āiñje mād jimseke*, 'I have eaten stripes, I am struck'. Such forms are of course, Aryan. [LSI pp. 211-212]

## SAVARA

254 Savara is the southern most dialect of the Muṇḍā family. It is spoken in the hilly tracts of Ganjam and Vizagapatam. It is the prevailing language in the Ichchhapuram, Parlakimedi, and Sompeta taluks of the Ganjam Agency and together with Telugu in the Gunapur taluk of the Vizagapatam Agency. Elsewhere it is spoken side by side with other languages in the hills.

Savara has been largely influenced by Telugu and is no longer an unmixed form of speech. It is most closely related to Khaṛiā and Juāṅg, but in some characteristics differs from them and agrees with the various dialects of Kherwārī. [LSI pp. 217-218]

*Pronunciation*. The dialect has predilection for the cerebral *ḍ* in words such as *ḍēsa*, country, etc. In Ramagiri a short *u* is often added to words ending in a consonant: thus, *mal-u*, 'property'; *tin-u*, 'give'. This peculiarity is, due to the influence of Telugu. [LSI p. 219]

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*Nouns: Gender.* There is no grammatical gender in the dialect.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plural is formed by adding the suffix *-ji*. Thus, *wān-ji*, 'fathers'.

*Case.* The cases are indicated by adding suffixes.

[LSI p. 219]

*Numerals.* The numerals most nearly agree with those in use in Khaṛiā. Forms, such as, *mi*, 'one' ; *bār*, 'two' ; *yār*, 'three', are only used in compounds. Higher numbers are counted in twenties. [LSI p. 219]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *ñēn* ; for 'thou' is *aman* ; for 'he' is *anin*. *ñēn* 'my', and *nam*, 'they' are used as pronominal suffixes of the genitive.

An *a-* is often prefixed to nouns, and it can then be translated as a kind of definite article. Thus, *a-wāṅ-ba*, 'to a father'. It is probably a demonstrative pronoun ; cf. Telugu *a*.

[LSI pp. 219-220]

*Verbs.* The Savara verb is characterised by the same simplicity that we observe in the case of Khaṛiā. The direct and indirect objects are not expressed in the verb ; there is no trace of the many conjugational and inflexional bases of the Kherwārī verb.

The person of the verb is occasionally expressed by adding personal suffixes. The most common one is *-i* or occasionally, *-iṅ*, for the first person. Thus, *apuṅ-tā-i*, 'I shall say' ; *kiet-t-iṅ*, 'I shall die'.

There are apparently two tenses, one for the present and future tense and one for the past. The present-future is formed by adding the suffix *-te*. *-te* is derived from *ten*, and the final *n* is often retained before the suffix of the third person plural. Before the suffix of the first person the *-e* of *-te* is dropped or replaced by *-a*, or else *tenā* is used instead. Thus, *kiet-t-iṅ*, 'I die' ; *it-ten-ā-i*, 'I shall go'.

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The corresponding suffix of the past is *-le*. Thus, *pāṅ-la-i*, 'I brought'.

The most common suffixes of the imperative are *-ā*, *-ai*, *-ba* and *-na*; thus, *irā*, 'go', *pāṅ-ai*, 'bring'.

The base alone is used as a verbal noun; thus, *a-jum-bēn*, 'feeding for, in order to feed'.

The negative particle is apparently a prefixed *a*. Thus, *a-ḍēye*, 'was not'. [LSI pp. 220-221]

## GADABĀ

255 The Gadabā tribe, the speakers of the dialect, is found everywhere in Vizagapatam and the Vizagapatam Agency, and also in the Ganjam Agency, all of which are in the Madras Presidency. Some few Gadabās are also found in the Bastar State and Kalahandi.

The Gadabā dialect is very unsatisfactorily known. The following notes on grammar are based on the dialect spoken in Bastar. [LSI pp. 229-230]

*Nouns : Gender.* It appears that there is no grammatical gender in the dialect.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plural appears to be expressed by adding some word meaning 'many'; thus, *lōngā āpōṅg*, 'many fathers, fathers'.

*Case.* The cases are indicated by adding suffixes and also by postpositions. The cases of the direct and indirect object are not expressed in the verb. They are expressed by means of postpositions, such as *nō*, *pulai* and so forth. [LSI p. 231]

*Numerals.* The Aryan loan words are used for numerals seven and following. The Gadabā numerals are most closely related to those in use in Savara and Khaṛiā. [LSI p. 231]

*Pronouns.* The pronoun for 'I' is *niṅg*, *nī*; for 'thou' is *nōm*; for 'he' is *may*. [LSI p. 231]

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*Verbs.* The inflexion of verbs is apparently very simple. Reduplicated and doubled bases are apparently freely used ; *sa-saḍagū*, 'attached' ; *buk-buk*, 'striking', etc.

The common suffix of the present tense is *-tō* or *-tu* ; thus, *mdṅg-tō*, 'I know' ; *ḍū-tu*, 'is'. Another suffix of the present is *-nīṅg* ; thus, *ōiniṅg*, 'go'. The present is also used as a future ; thus, *sun-tun-i*, 'I will say'. The past is formed by adding one of the suffixes *-u* or *-o*, add *-ī* ; thus, *ḍu-g-u*, 'was' ; *sun-ō*, 'said'.

Compound past tenses are formed by adding the verb substantive ; thus, *buō-ḍutu*, 'I have killed' ; *sēbō ḍugu*, 'I had killed'.

The common suffix of the imperative is *-nēn* ; thus, *tōl-nēn*, 'bind', *ju-nēu*, 'see'.

The re-duplicated and the present bases are used as verbal nouns. Thus, *ju-jū*, 'to see' ; *gō-gō*, 'to feed'.

The negative particle is a prefixed *ār* or *ūrā* ; cf. Kherwārī *ālō*. [LSI pp. 231-233]

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## 256 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES

| *English* | *Santālī (Sonthal Parganas)* | *Muṇḍarī (Ranchi)* |
|---|---|---|
| one | mīt' | mit', mot', miat'. moyat' |
| two | bār-ea, bār | bar-iā, bār |
| three | pă̈-ā, pă̈ | api-ā, apī |
| four | pōn-eā, pōn | upun-īā, upun (upōn) |
| hand | ti | tihi |
| foot | jaṅgā | kaṭā |
| head | bâhāk' | bâk' (bâhâk') |
| a father | mit' ṭă̈n apāt | āpū-tēt' |
| of a father | mit' ṭă̈n apāt-ră̈n etc. | āpū-tēt'-rēn etc. |
| to a father | mit ṭă̈n apāt-ṭhă̈n | āpū-tēt' tak |
| two fathers | bār (-eā) apāt, apāt-kin | āpū-kin |
| I am | menạ̈-ñ-ā, henạ̈-ñ-ā, -kạn-ạ̈-ñ, etc. | mēnak'-iñ-a, -tan-a-iṅg, etc. |
| thou art | mẹnā-m-ā | mēnak' -mē-ā |
| he is | menā-e-ā | mēnak'-i-ā |
| we are | menak'-bō(n)-ā etc. | mēnak'-bū-ā |
| you are | mēnak'-pă̈-ā | mēnak'-pē-ä |
| they are | menak'-kō-ā | mēnak'-kō-a |
| I was | tahă̈-kan -ạ̈-ñ | tāi-ken-ā-iṅg, (tāhă̈n -ken-ā-ñ, etc.) |
| thou wast | tahă̈-kan-ā-m | tāi-ken-ā-m |
| he was | tahă̈-kan-ā-e | tāi-ken-ā-e |
| we were | tahă̈-kan-ā-bō, etc. | tāi-ken-ā-bū |
| you were | tahă̈-kan-ā-pā | tāi-ken-ā-pē |

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## IN THE LANGUAGES OF THE MUṆḌĀ FAMILY

| *Kūrkū* (*Amraoti*) | *Khaṛia* (*Ranchi*) | *Savara* (*Ganjam*) |
|---|---|---|
| mīyã̄ | moi, moiod, muḍu | bo, aboi, mi- |
| bāriā | ubar, bar, baria | bāgu, bār |
| āpai | upe | yāgi, yār |
| uphūniā | i'pon | uñji |
| di-kū-ā | ho-ki-a | si |
| ti | ti' | taljen |
| hup | ului | bob |
| ābā | apa | wāṅ, wāṅan |
| ābā | apa-ga, (-a) | wāṅ-ā |
| ābā-ken, ābā-kē | apa-ge, (-te) | wāṅ-ba-sitle |
| bāriā ābā̄, ābā̄-kiṅg | baria apa-jar | bāgu wāṅ-ji |
| iṅg tijkā | iṅg khaṛia-ge kiṅg (I am a Khaṛia) | niṅg ḍutu, (miṅgu-nē-ku) |
| am tikya | am khaṛia-ge kem | nōm ḍutu, (bābin-bē-ku) |
| dī tikya | o-kaṛ khaṛia-ge ke | māy ḍutu (no ḍuku) |
| ābuṅg tākā-kō | ele khaṛia-ge ke-le | nēiṅg ḍutu |
| âpē tijā-ko | ampe khaṛia-ge ke-pe | pēnchā ḍutu |
| dī-kō tinjā-kō | o-ki khaṛia-ge kimai | aniūji ḍaku, ḍako-te |
| iṅg tātak-dān | iṅg au-kiṅg | ñēnḍako-laī, ḍaku-lenaī |
| āmtātāk-dān | am au-kim | aman dako-le |
| dī tātāk-dān | o-kaṛ au ki | anin ḍako-le, ḍako-nēte |
| ābuṅg tātāk-dān | ele au-ki-le | ellen ḍako-laī |
| āpē tātāk-dān | ampe au-ki-pe | ambe ḍako-le |

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| *English* | *Santalī (Sonthal Parganas)* | *Muṇḍarī (Ranchi)* |
|---|---|---|
| they were | tahă̄-kan-ā-kō | tāi-ken-ā-ko |
| I shall be | hoyok'-ā̤-ñ | iṅg hōbāok'-a, (tāhän-ä-ñ) |
| I beat | dāl-et'-ā̤-ñ | īṅg dāl-i-ā |
| thou beatest | dāl-et'-ā-m | ām-dāl-i-ā |
| he beats | dāl-et'-ā-e | īni dāl-i-ā |
| we beat | dāl-et'-ā-bō | ā-bū dāl-i-ā |
| you beat | dāl-et'-ā-pă̄ | ā-pē dāl-i-ā |
| they beat | dāl-et'-ā-kō | a-kō kāl-i-ā |
| I beat (past) | dāl ket'-ā̤-ñ | dāl-ked-ā-iṅg |
| thou beatest (past) | dāl-ket'-ā-m | dāl-ked-ā-m |
| he beat (past) | dāl-ket'-ā-e | dāl-ked-ā-e |
| we beat (past) | dāl-ket'-ā-bō | dāl-ked-ā-bū |
| you beat (past) | dāl-ket'-ā-pă̄ | dal-ked-ā-pē |
| they beat (past) | dāl-ket'-ā-kō | dāl ked-ā-kō |
| I shall beat | dāl-ā̤-ñ | dāl-e-ā-iṅg, (dāl-āñ) |

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| *Kūrkū* (*Amraoti*) | *Khaṛia* (*Ranchi*) | *Savara* (*Ganjam*) |
|---|---|---|
| dī-kō tātāk-dān | ho-ki au-ki-mai | aniñji ḍako-le-ji |
| (iṅg ḍao-bā) | iṅg hoi niṅg | nēn ḍako-taï |
| iṅg mundābā | iṅg gil-tiṅg | ñēn tittaï |
| ām mundābā | am gil-tem | aman titte |
| dī mundābā | o-kaṛ gil-tei | anin titte |
| ābuṅg mundabā | ele gil-ta-le | ellen tittaï |
| āpē mundābā | ampe gil-ta-pe ~gil-te-pe | ambe titte |
| dī-kō mundābā | o-ki gil-tei-ki | aniñ ji titteji |
| (iṅg kumā-kane) | iṅg gilo'iṅg | ñēn tillaï, tid-lai, etc. |
| (ām kumā-kane) | am gilo-m | aman tille |
| (dī kumā-kane) | o-kaṛ gil-o | amin tiḍēte, tiḍ-le |
| (ālē kumā-kane) | ele gil-o-le | ellen tiḍ-laï |
| (āpē kumā-kane) | ampe gil-o-pe | ambe tiḍ-le |
| (dī-kō kumā-kane) | o-ki gil-o-ki, ~ gil-o-ki-mai | aṅiñji ṭid-le-ji |
| — | iṅg gil-iṅg | ñēn tittaï |

[LSI pp. 239-275]

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PART II

# DRAVIDIAN FAMILY

## INTRODUCTION

257 The Dravidian family comprises all the principal languages of Southern India. Only a small portion live within the territory covered by this survey. In order to make it easier to compare and classify the North Indian members of the family, a short sketch of the principal Dravidian languages is being given. The minor dialects, such as Koḍagu, Tuḷu, Toda, and Kōta will not be described,

The name Dravidian is a conventional one. It is derived from Sanskrit Dravida, which is probably derived from an older Dramiḷa and is identical with the name of Tamil. The name Dravidian is, accordingly identical with Tamulian, which name has formerly been used by European writers as a common designation of the language. But in Europe Dravidian has long been the common denomination applied to the Dravidian family of languages.

The Dravidian languages occupy the whole of Southern India and the northern half of Ceylon. The northern frontier may be taken to begin at a point of the Arabian Sea about a hundred miles below Goa and to follow the Western Ghats to Kolhapur. It then runs north-east in an irregular line through Hyderabad, cuts off the southern border of Berar, and continues east-wards to the Bay of Bengal. The eastern part of the frontier is not, however, anything like a continuous line. Broadly speaking, the hill country to the east of Chanda and Bhandara is inhabited by Dravidian Tribes, while Aryan dialects have occupied the plains, so that we often find Dravidian dialects scattered like islets in the Sea of Aryan tongues. Further to the north we find Dravidian dialects spoken by small tribes in the



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Central Provinces and Chota Nagpur, and even up to the banks of the Ganges at Rajmahal. Finally, there is a Dravidian dialect in the north-west, in Baluchistan. [LSI pp. 277-278]

*Phonology.* There has been a long discussion as to whether Indo-Aryan has developed cerebrals independently or borrowed them from Dravidian. Indo-Aryan cerebrals, in most cases derived from consonant-groups beginning with *l*, may have developed independently, but as cerebral sounds form an essential feature of Dravidian phonology, it seems possible that Dravidian influence has given a strength to this tendency. Moreover, the irregular use of *l* in Indo-Aryan may be due to Dravidian influence, in view of the fact that the use of *l* in Indo-Aryan has steadily increased, from the Vedic times to the present day.

[LSI pp. 279-280]

*Inflexional system.* The influence, which the Dravidian languages seem to have exercised on Aryan inflexion are of much greater importance, and pervades the whole language.

The use of postpositions, with regard to the inflexion of nouns, in Indo-Aryan languages agrees with that of Dravidian. In Indo-Aryan languages postpositions are often added not to the base but to an oblique form, just as in the case of Dravidian, where the oblique form is commonly used as a genitive. The use of two different forms of the objective case is distinctly Dravidian. The Hindī rule for the use of a postposition in the objective case agrees with that prevailing in Tamil and Malayāḷam.

The Indo-European languages have developed a richly varied system of real verbal tenses, while the Dravidians do not use ordinary tenses but employ forms which can best be described as participles or nouns of agency derived from such participles. A corresponding tendency has gradually pervaded the Indo-Aryan languages and changed their whole appearance.

The order of words in modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars, with the governed before the governing word and the verb invariably at the end of the sentence, is also in agreemant with Dravidian principles.

[LSI pp. 280-281]

258 *Classification of languages.* The best known Dravidian languages are Tamil, Malayāḷam, Kanarese, and Telugu. They have

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all for a long time been used as literary languages. The difference between the written form and the spoken language is often considerable, and it would for instance be a vain attempt to make an uneducated Tamil read and understand the literature of his native tongue.

Although the Dravidian languages, such as Telugu, have preserved older forms and represent a more ancient state of development, yet it seems certain that no other Dravidian languages has developed the common Dravidian principles with so great consistency as Tamil, and as such this form of speech is being taken as the base of our classification.

Tamil and Malayāḷam are two sister dialects of the same language. Old Malayāḷam literature has been much influenced by Tamil, but the modern language nevertheless preserves traces of a more ancient stage of development than in the case with Tamil.

Kanarese is also closely related to Tamil, and the two languages form together one of the principal groups of the Dravidian family. They alone have a regular feminine gender. The rational and irrational nouns are more consistently distinguished in these languages than in others; both have oblique forms. But on the whole, Kanarese has more points of analogy with Telugu than has Tamil. Tuḷu, Koḍagu, Toda and Kōta, must be classed as lying between Tamil and Kanarese, nearer to the latter than to the former. A similar position must be ascribed to Kurukh and Malto. These two forms of speech are very closely related.

Kui and Gōṇḍī occupy a similar position, but gradually approach Telugu. They differ from other connected languages in using the neuter instead of the feminine both in plural and in singular.

Some minor dialects, such as Kōlāmī, Naikī, and the Bhīlī spoken in the Pusad Taluqa of Basim lie between Gōṇḍī and Telugu.

Telugu, in many respects, occupies an independent position and can be characterised as the only descendant of the Andhra-dialect of old Dravidian.

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The remaining Dravidian language, the Brāhūī of Baluchistan, is no more an unmixed form of speech It has so largely influenced from various sources that it is only in general principles and in some few but important words that its character as a Dravidian language can be recognised. [LSI pp. 283-285]

## General characteristics of the Dravidian languages

259 *Pronunciation.* In most Dravidian languages there is a strong tendency to preserve a short vowel after every final consonant. In Tamil a short *u* is heard after every final *k*, *ś*, *ṭ*, *t*, *p*, and *r̤*; in Kanarese and in grammatically written Telugu every word must end in a vowel, and a short *u* is added after every final consonant.

The Dravidian languages possess a short as well as a long variety of the vowels *e* and *o*.

A tendency to harmonic sequence exists in Telugu, where short *i* and *u* in many cases are interchangeable in such a way that *i* is used when a neighbouring syllable contains *i*, *ī* or *ei*, and *u* in all other cases. In Tamil also there are some cases in which a vowel seems to be changed as a result of the influence of a following vowel. Thus *i*, before *ṭ*, *ṇ*, *r*, *r̤*, *r̤*, *l* and *ḷ*, followed by *a* or *ei* acquires something of the sound *e*. *Piḷḷei*, 'a child', is, e.g., pronounced somewhat like *peḷḷei*, and so forth. This tendency is not found in other Dravidian languages.

The most interesting feature with regard to Dravidian consonants is the common interchange between hard and soft consonants. There is a tendency in all Dravidian languages, which in Tamil and Malayāḷam has become a law, that no word can begin with a soft consonant and that every single consonant in the middle of a word must be soft. Thus, Sanskrit *danta*, 'a tooth', becomes *tandam*, in Tamil. This tendency is a comparatively modern departure in the history of the Dravidian languages.

The gutturals are often changed into palatals. Cf. Kanarese *kinna*, Telugu *chinna*, Tamil *śiṉṉa*, 'small'. The palatals are further often interchangeable with dentals. Cf. Tamil *eindu* and *añju*, 'five'. In vulgar Tamil and in Malayāḷam a *chch* almost



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always corresponds to *tt* in High Tamil after *i* and *ei*. Cf. Malayāḷam *Chirichcha*, High Tamil *Śiritta*, 'that laughed'. The final *m* sometimes interchanges with *n*. Thus, Tamil *palam* and *palan*, 'fruit'; old Kanarese *avam*, modern *avanu*, 'he'. The change of *n* to *ḍ* is especially frequent in Telugu. Cf. Kanarese *avanu*, Telugu *vāḍu*, 'he'.

*Inflexion of nouns* : *Gender*. Dravidian nouns are divided into two classes, which Tamil grammarians denote by the terms high-caste and casteless. The former include such nouns as denote beings endowed with reason, the latter all other nouns. This distinction is the peculiarity of the Dravidian languages. In the case of high-caste nouns, however, gender is, at least in most languages of the family, distinguished by the addition of pronominal suffixes. In the plural there is no difference between the masculine and feminine genders. In the singular, on the other hand, there are separate suffixes for the two, at least in Tamil, Malayāḷam, and Kanarese, the masculine suffix being *-an*, the feminine *-al*.

Brāhūī does not distinguish the genders even in the case of rational beings. Most other languages of the family, Kurukh, Malto, Kin, Gōṇḍī, Kōlāmī, and Telugu, have no feminine singular, but use the neuter instead.

Nouns denoting women and Goddesses, in almost all dialects, are treated as high-caste nouns in the plural. In the singular on the other hand, there is a double tendency. Tamil, Malayāḷam, and Kanarese use a separate female form of which there appear to be some few traces in other Dravidian languages, while all other dialects substitute the neuter.

*Number*. The Dravidian languages have two numbers, the singular and the plural. In this respect they agree with the modern Indo-Aryan vernaculars, while Sanskrit, like the Muṇḍā languages, possesses a dual in addition to the singular and the plural. Neuter nouns are not always pluralised, the singular form being, in numerous cases, used as a plural as well.

*Case*. The various cases are formed on the agglutinative method by adding postpositions. Those postpositions are the

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same in the singular and in the plural. The usual case postpositions are not used as independent words and cannot stand by themselves, but are only added to other words. This is the reason for the semi-inflexional appearance of the Dravidian languages. The actual Dravidian noun consists of a base, which is used without any case suffix as a nominative, and an oblique base, which is used as an adjectival genitive, and to which modifying postpositions are added in order to indicate the various relations of the noun to the surrounding words.

[LSI pp. 290-292]

*Adjectives.* The Dravidian adjectives are not capable of inflexion. The genitive of ordinary nouns is in reality an adjective, and the difference between nouns and adjectives is of no great importance. Both classes of words are often also used in the function of verbs, and many adjectives can, therefore, be considered as relative participles. [LSI p. 292]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns of the first and second persons and the reflexive pronoun in Dravidian languages form one distinct group. There is a singular form ending in *-n* and plural form ending in *-m*. The personal pronouns and still more reflexive pronouns are prefixed to the words denoting relationship. Kurukh and High Tamil use all the personal pronouns in this way, in other dialects the usage is almost exclusively restricted to the reflexive pronoun.

The personal pronoun of the first person has in most Dravidian languages a double form, one including, and another excluding, the person addressed. Thus, Tamil, *nāṅgaḷ* (exclusive), *yām*, *nām* (inclusive) 'we'. The exclusive form in Kurukh, Kui, and Telugu is essentially identical with the inclusive form in Tamil and Malayāḷam. It seems necessary to infer that the original Dravidian language had not developed a double plural of this pronoun. It may be due to the influence of Muṇḍā languages, where such forms exist.

The demonstrative and interrogative pronouns are sometimes adjectives and sometimes nouns substantive. In the former case the shortest forms of the bases are used without any inflexion ; in the latter suffixes indicating gender, number and case are added.

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There are no relative pronouns. Relative participles are used instead, as is also the case in other non-Aryan languages of India, and indeed in most languages. [LSI pp. 293-294]

*Verbs.* Nouns of agency are very commonly used as verbs. They are then inflected in person and number by means of pronominal suffixes, especially in Telugu, Gōṇḍī, and other dialects. In Tamil this is only the case in the literary form of the language. The Dravidian verb in this respect distinctly differs from the real Indo-European verb, which simply denotes the action done by the subject, and from the Tibeto-Burman verb which can be described as a noun of action without any reference to object or subject, both of which must be indicated by means of other words. The Dravidian verb is half adjective and noun, denoting as it does the subject as the doer of the action in question.

The pronominal suffixes are not necessary for the conjugation of Dravidian Verbs, and they are very often dropped in common speech. In Malayāḷam they are never used, but the tenses are replaced by participles without any distinction of person or number. Such participles are also in other dialects used as conjunctive participles.

Three tenses are commonly distinguished, an indefinite tense, which is used as a present and often also as a future, a past tense, and a future. The Dravidian verb further forms verbal nouns, verbal and relative participles, an imperative, and so on. On the other hand, the Dravidian languages, on the whole, are destitute of a passive voice.

The negative conjugation is the peculiarity of the Dravidian verb. It is usually restricted to one tense, verbal nouns with a negative particle being used when a different tense is to be indicated. In Malayāḷam Tuḷu, Kui and some other dialects the negative verb has developed more than one tense. The principle of the formation of negative tenses is apparently the addition of ordinary personal suffixes to a negative base. (LSI pp. 294-296)

## TAMIL

260 Tamil is only spoken as foreign language by settlers from south in the territory included within the operations of the *Linguistic Survey*. Due to its importance a rapid sketch of the grammar of the language is being given.

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The name of the language should properly be written Tamiṟ. The consonant *ṟ* being often interchangeable with *ḷ*, the word is often pronounced Tamiḷ in the Tamil country. In old Pāli and in Jain Prākrit the Tamils are called Damiḷa, Daviḷa and Daviḍa, which were sanskritized to Dramila, Dramiḍa, and Draviḍa, respectively.

Tamil is spoken all over the south-eastern part of the Indian Peninsula and the northern half of Ceylon.

Tamil is, by no means, uniform over the whole area where it is spoken as a vernacular. There are many distinct provincial dialects of Tamil. However, much is not known about them. Three dialects only were distinguished at the Census of 1891; Yerukala or Korava, spoken by a wandering tribe; Irula, a caste dialect in the Nilgiris and adjoining districts; and Kasuva, the dialect of a jungle tribe between the base of the Nilgiris and the Moyar River. Yerukala or Korava is also spoken in the Bombay Presidency, and a short account of that dialect would be given in the subsequent pages. Two other dialects spoken by vagrant Gipsy tribes, the so-called Kaikāḍī, and Burgaṇḍī will be added.

[LSI pp. 298-299]

*Pronunciation.* No Tamil word can end in other consonants than *ñ*, *ṉ*, *n*, *m*, *n̲*, *y*, *r*, *l*, *v*, *ṟ* and *ḷ*. A short *u* is pronounced after all other final consonants, and in colloquial Tamil, often also after those just mentioned. Initial *ē* and *e* pronounced as *ye*, *yē*, respectively. In the same way initial *i* and *ī* are sometimes pronounced as *yi* and *yī*, respectively.

Tamil alphabet has no separate signs for soft mute consonants. The hard mutes are, however, regularly softened in certain positions, and they are then usually transliterated as soft consonants. *k*, *ṭ*, *t* and *p* are always hard at the beginning of words, and when they are doubled or immediately followed by another consonant. They are on the other hand pronounced as *g*, *ḍ*, *d* and *b*, respectively, in the middle of a word, when they are not doubled. The hard sounds are also used after *ṭ* and *ṟ*, while the soft pronunciation prevails in combination with nasals.

There are no aspirates. A soft aspiration is, however, often locally combined with the soft pronunciation.

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Single consonants are often doubled. A final consonant of a monosyllabic word containing a short vowel is doubled before a suffix beginning with a vowel. An initial *k*, *ś*, *t* or *p* is, in some cases, doubled after a word ending in a vowel. The cerebral *ṛ* is vulgarly pronounced as *y*. It has often been transliterated as *zh* in old books and is so pronounced in Pondicherry, Karrikal, and Tanjore. The tongue is curled back to the position it has in pronouncing *t*, but does not touch the palate.

*l* and *r* cannot be pronounced as initial. [LSI pp. 309-310]

*Nouns : Gender.* Men and Gods are masculine ; women and goddesses feminine ; other nouns neuter.

*Number.* There are two numbers, singular and plural. Masculine bases ending in *an* form their plural in *-ar* or *-argaḷ*. Respectful denominations ending in *-ār* add *-mār* or *-mārgaḷ*. The plural of other nouns is formed by adding *-gaḷ* or, if the noun ends in a long vowel or consists of two short syllables ending in *-u*, *-kkaḷ*.

*Case.* The noun is inflected for case and different suffixes are added for the purpose. No suffix is added in nominative. In accusative *-ei*, in instrumental *-āl*, in dative *-ukku*, in genitive *-uḍeiya*, and in locative *-il* is added.

The plural is inflected as the singular. [LSI p. 312]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns are ; *nāṉ*, 'I', *nām*, *nāṅgaḷ*, 'we' ; *nī* (non-honorific) *nīr* (honorific) 'thou' ; *nīṅgaḷ*, 'you' ; *avaṉ*, 'he' ; *avaḷ*, 'she' ; *adu*, 'it' ; *avar* (*gaḷ*), *avei* (*gaḷ*), 'they'.

*Nām*, 'we', includes, and *nāṅgaḷ* excludes the person addressed. *Avar*, 'they', is used as an honorific singular.

The pronominal adjectives, such as *a* (*nda*), 'that' ; *i* (*nda*), 'this', are indeclinable. [LSI p. 312]

*Verbs.* As has been stated in the introduction, there are three main tense forms, present, past and future. In the present tense suffixes *-giṟu* and *-kkiṟu* are added ; in the past *-ndu*, *-ṉṟu* *-ttu* are added ; and in the future *-vu*, *-bu* and *-ppu* are added. To indicate the person different pronominal suffixes are added to the verbal form.

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Base alone is used as an imperative. However, in the honorific form *-yum* or *-un*, is added, and in the plural form, *ṅgaḷ* is added. Thus, *ōḍum*, *ōḍuṅgaḷ* are the forms of the verb, *ōḍu*, 'run'.

Several verbs take contracted form in the past. Bases ending in *-ṉ* and *-ḷ* add *-ṇṭu*. and those ending in *-l* and *-n* add *-nru* in the past. Thus, *uṇgirēn* 'I eat' ; *uṇṭēn*, 'I ate'.

The passive voice is formed by adding the verb *paḍu*, 'suffer', to the infinitive. Thus, *aḍikka-ppaḍugiren*, 'I am beaten'.

The causatives are formed by adding *-ikkiru*, past *-ittu*, future *-ippu* to the future base and conjugating through out ; thus, *śeyvikkīrēn*. 'I cause to do'.

*Participles.* *ē* adds emphasis ; *ā* denotes a question ; *ō* a doubt, *a* contrast, or indefiniteness ; *um* completeness, etc. *um* added to the conjunctive participle means 'although'. Thus, *irund-um*, 'although he is'. [LSI p. 313]

## KORAVA OR YERUKALA

261 The Koravas or Yerukalas are a wandering tribe of basket and mat-makers, pigbreeders, etc. They are found all over the Madras Presidency and in several districts of the Bombay Presidency.

Korava has sometimes been considered as a separate language. This is not, however, the case, though it is not derived from the colloquial Tamil of the present day. There are also several points in which the dialect differs from Tamil and agrees with other Dravidian languages. The whole structure is, however, almost the same as in Tamil. [LSI pp. 318-319]

*Pronunciation.* Short final vowels are not distinctly sounded, and are often interchanged. Thus, *tōpanke*, *tōpanki*, *tōpanka*, and *topank*, 'to the father'. Final *ḷ* and initial *h* are often dropped. Thus, *āga*, 'they' ; but *āgaḷ-uḷḷi*, 'among them' ; *ōgi* and *hōgi*, 'having gone'. [LSI p. 319]

*Nouns.* The plural and the oblique form more closely agree with Tamil, and the case suffixes closely agree with Kanarese. The suffixes of the plural are *-ar(u)*, *-mar(u)*, *-ga(ḷu)*, and *-ṅga*.

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The usual case suffixes of dative are *-ke*, *-ka*, *-k*, of ablative are *-iṇḍe*, *-uṇḍ*, *iṇḍri*, *-inde*, and of locative are *-uḷḷi*, *-oḷḷi*, *-oḷ*. The genitive is identical with the oblique case. [LSI pp. 319-320]

*Numerals.* Numerals are, broadly speaking, the same as in vulgar Tamil. 'One' is *oru*, neuter *oṇḍ*. Instead of *oru*, we also find *ort* as in Kurukh. *Raṇḍ*, 'two', corresponds to Malayāḷam *raṇḍu*, Tamil *iraṇḍu*.

*Pronouns.* Some of the personal pronouns are; *nā*, *nānu* 'I'; *nāga*, 'we'; *nī*, *nīnu*, 'thou'; *nīga*. 'you'; *avṟ̃*, *ãvu*, 'he'; *ava*(ḷ), 'she'; *avga*, *āga*, 'they'.

There is only one form of the plural of the first person, just as is also the case in Kanarese. The oblique cases of the first person singular are also more closely related to Kanarese than to Tamil. [LSI p. 320]

*Verbs.* The present tense is formed by adding the suffixes *-sa* and *-na*, or, in most cases, in the same way as in Tamil. Thus, *aḍasā*, 'thou struckest'; *kōnū*, 'he went'; *kuḍatū*, 'he gave'. The *s*- suffix must be compared with the suffix *-si*, *-chi* in Gōṇḍī, *-śi* in Telugu. Similar forms are also used in vulgar Tamil. [LSI p. 320]

The pronominal suffixes are :

| *Singular* | *Plural* |
|---|---|
| 1. ē, i | 1. ō |
| 2. ā | 2. ā(ga) |
| 3. ū, fem. *ā*, neut. *du*, *chu* | 3. ā(ga) neut. mū, mō |

Thus, *sāgarē*, 'I die'; *kūḍatā*, 'she gave', etc. [LSI p. 320]

## KAIKĀḌĪ

**262** The Kaikāḍīs are a vagrant tribe of mat-makers. They are found in Bombay Presidency, Berar, and the Central Provinces.

Kaikāḍī in most respects agrees with vulgar Tamil and will therefore be dealt with as a dialect of that form of speech. Like other Tamil dialects, it in several points agrees with Kanarese, and

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it must therefore be derived from an older form when Tamil and Kanarese had not as yet been differentiated so much as is the case at the present day.

The dialect is not exactly the same in all districts. It is purest in Sholapur. On the whole, the local variations are comparatively small, and are almost always due to corruption through the influence of other forms of speech. [LSI p. 333]

*Pronunciation.* Long and short vowels are very commonly inter-changed ; thus, *vandu, vāṇdu, vandū,* and *vāndū,*, 'he came'.

The palatals are, at least in Sholapur, pronounced as in Telugu, i.e., as *ts*, *dz*, respectively, if they are not followed by *i*, *e*, or *y*.

Final *ḷ* is dropped as in Korava and vulgar Tamil. Thus, *gōga*, 'sons', but *gōgḷak*, 'to the sons'. [LSI pp. 333-334]

*Nouns.* The genders are sometimes confounded.

The suffixes of the plural are *-ga* and *-āṅg* ; thus, *gōu*, 'a son' ; *gō-gā*, 'the sons'.

Case suffixes are added to the base of neuter nouns. Thus *uṭ-ali*, 'in the house'. Occasionally, however, we find the base modified before suffixes as in Tamil. Thus, *man-t-uḷi*, 'in the mind'. The dative is commonly used as an accusative. The genitive sometimes agrees with the qualified noun in gender, as is also the case in Gōṇḍī. Thus, *ninnāu māṅg*, 'thy son'.

The case suffixes, on the whole, agree pretty well with Korava. [LSI p. 334]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives are sometimes inflected. Thus, *nalla urāpāy*, 'a good man' ; *nallayā urāyā* 'good men'. [LSI p. 334]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns have almost the same forms as in Korava. The usual forms are ; *nān, nā*, 'I' ; *nāng*, 'we' ; *nīn, nī*, 'thou, ; *nīṅg*, 'you' ; *āu*, 'he' ; *ād, ata* 'it' ; *āuṅg*, neuter *ayā* 'they'.

The form *nāṅg* seems to be the exclusive plural, corresponding to Tamil *nāṅgaḷ*. When the person addressed is included the plural of the first person is *nāmb*. [LSI p. 334]



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*Verbs.* The pronominal suffixes are as under :

| *Singular* | *Plural* |
|---|---|
| 1. ē, ī, i | 1. ō, ū |
| 2. ā | 2. āṅg |
| 3. m. ŏ, ū, u | 3. m. and f. āṅg |
| f. ā | n. gā |
| n. da (du) ; tsa (tsu) | |

The present tense of the verb substantive is *igarī*, 'I am' ; *igada*, 'it is' ; *igadgā*, 'they (neuter subject) are'.

The present tense of finite verbs is formed by adding a suffix *-āk* (*gāk*) or *-ār*. Thus, *iḍḍākī* 'I strike' ; *varāk*, 'it comes'.

The past tense is formed by means of the same suffixes as in Tamil. Cf. *svandu*, 'he said' *kuḍatō*, 'he gave'.

The future apparently corresponds to the Tamil present. Thus, *ikarī*, 'I shall be' ; *idkirī*, 'I shall rise'. [LSI p. 335]

## BURGAṆḌĪ

263 Burgaṇḍī is the dialect of another vagarant tribe, returned for the purpose of this survey from Nimar and from Central India Agency.

It is closely connected with Kaikāḍī. It is apparently dying out. The remarks on Burgaṇḍī grammar are based on unsatisfactory material. [LSI p. 343]

*Nouns.* The natural gender is distinguished by *ãḍ* 'male', and *phaṭ*, 'female'. But the plural and the cases are always formed in the same way. The suffix of the plural is *-ṅg* ; Cf. Kaikāḍī. Thus, *ūrāpō*, 'a man' ; *ūrāṅg*, 'men'.

The usual case suffixes are, dative and accusative *-k* ; ablative *-kē* and *-kun* ; genitive *-ē*, *-nē* and no suffix ; locative *-kō* and *-kē*. [LSI p. 343]

*Numerals.* Higher numbers are reckoned in scores. Thus, *raṇḍ ird pat*, 'two times twenty and ten, fifty'.

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*Pronouns.* The personal pronoun for 'I' is *nā*; for 'we' *naṅg*, for 'thou' *nī*; for 'you', *niṅg*; for 'he' *ad*; and for they *añj*.

The form *ad*, 'he' is the neuter form, corresponding to Tamil *adu*, 'that'. [LSI p. 343]

*Verbs.* The present tense of the verb substantive is :

| *Singular* | *Plural* |
|---|---|
| 1. sirē | 1. sirū |
| 2. sirā | 2. sirū |
| 3. sir | 3. sirū |

*s* in this verb is interchangeable with *ch*. Thus we also find *chir'* 'he is'.

The past tense of the verb substantive is given as *nīḍīs* in all persons and numbers.

The present tense of finite verbs is formed much as in Kaikāḍī. Thus, *mikākē*, 'I live'; *siyākō*, 'let us do'; the plural ends in *-ō* or *-ū* in all persons; thus, *pōgākō*, 'we, you or they go'.

The past tense is usually formed by means of one of the suffixes *-s* (or *ch*) and *-n*. Thus, *aḍsē*, 'I struck'; *aḍich*, 'he struck'; *aḍsā*, 'thou struckest'; third person singular always ends in *s* or *ch*. Thus, *thōrach*, 'he sent'; *pātas*, 'he saw'.

The future is apparently formed as in Kaikāḍī. Thus, *aḍikra*, 'thou wilt strike'; *āgarē*, 'I shall be'.

The negative particle is a prefixed *la-*, corresponding to the suffixed *-illā* in Kaikāḍī. Thus, *la-pōs*, 'he did not go'. This use is probably due to Aryan influence. [LSI pp. 343-344]

## MALAYĀḶAM

264 Malayāḷam is spoken along the western coast from Kasargodu in the north to Trivandrum in the south. The eastern frontier is the Western Ghats, and on the west the Malayāḷam country is bounded by the Arabian Sea. It covers the southern part of South Canara, the whole of Malabar and Cochin, with numerous settlers in the adjoining parts of Mysore and Nilgiri, and, lastly, the

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greatest part of Travancore. Outside this territory the language is only spoken by a few settlers.

Like the rest of the literary Dravidian languages Malyāḷam has two different forms, one used in old literature, and the other the colloquial form of speech. The principal point of difference from Tamil is the greater proportion of Sanskrit loan words. While Tamil has the smallest admixture of such foreign elements among all literary Dravidian languages, Malayāḷam is the most Sanskritized of them all, and even admits the conjugational forms of that language. [LSI p. 348]

*Pronunciation.* Malayāḷam pronunciation in most points agrees with Tamil. Thus, double *ṟṟ* is pronounced *tt*, *nṟ* sounds *nd*, and *y* is often vulgarly substituted for *ṟ*; hard and soft consonants interchange as in Tamil; final consonants are often doubled before a following vowel, and so forth. Cf. *mārram*, i.e., *māttam*, 'change'; *minṟe*, i.e., *minde*, 'they'; *maṟa*, vulgarly *maya* 'rain'.

As in Tamil, no word can end in a mute consonant, a very short vowel being added. This vowel usually has the form *u*. In Cochin and among the Syrian Christians this sound is more like an *a*. and in Northern Malayāḷam it is so short that it is not usually written. [LSI p. 354]

The principal points in which Malayāḷam differs from Tamil are the larger amount of Sanskrit words and the absence of personal terminations of verbs. They were used in old Malayāḷam. [LSI p. 354]

*Nouns: Gender.* Men and Gods are masculine; women and Goddesses feminine; other nouns are neuter.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The suffix of the plural is *gaḷ*, or after *ā*, *ū*, *ō*, *kkaḷ*. Final *m* and the suffix *gaḷ* becomes *ṅṅaḷ*. Nouns denoting rational beings also form their plural in *ar*, *mār* or *anmār* (honorific), and *avargaḷ* or *ārgaḷ* (respectful).

*Case.* The nouns are declined for case and different case suffixes are added to different word forms. [LSI p. 356]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns are: *ñān* 'I'; *nām* or *nāmmaḷ* (inclus.) *ñaṅṅaḷ* (exclus.) 'we'; *nī* (thou): *niṅṅaḷ* (you); *avan* 'he';

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*aval*, 'she'; *adu*, 'it'; *avar* (masc. and fem.) *ava* 'they'. The pronouns are declined for case.

The pronominal adjectives *ā*, 'that'; *ī* 'this': *ē* 'which', are indeclinable. [LSI p. 356]

*Verbs*. There are no pronominal terminations. So far as the conjugation of regular verbs is concerned, the present tense is formed by adding the suffix *-unnu*; the past tense by *-du* and *-i*; and the future tense by *-um*. The suffix *-i* of the past is used in bases consisting of one long syllable or of two syllables, short or long. Thus, *ākkunnu*, 'I make', past *ākki*. The suffix *-du* is often changed under the influence of the preceding sounds.

Root alone is used in the imperative. Suffix *-ga* is also added. Its plural is formed by adding *-vin*.

Infinitive is formed by adding *-ga*. Thus, *nalguga*, 'to give'.

A negative tense, formed from the base by adding *-ā*, is seldom used; e.g. *vēṇḍā*, 'it is not wanted'.

In the conjugation of irregular verbs the suffixes as well as the roots undergo certain modifications.

The passive voice is formed by adding *peḍuga* or *paḍuga*, 'to suffer', to the infinitive. Thus, *kāṇa-ppeḍunnu*, 'is seen'; *kāṇa-ppeṭṭu*, 'was seen'. [LSI p. 357]

## KANARESE

265 Kanarese is the principal language of Mysore and adjoining parts of Coimbatore, Salem, Anantapur and Bellary. The frontier line thence goes northwards as far as Bidar, where it turns almost due west on to about the 78th degree, and further, southwards so as to include the south-eastern portion of Jat and Daphlapur. It is also spoken in the extreme south-east of Satara, in Taluka Tasgaon; to some extent in the Aundh State of Satara Agency; and in the south of Belgaum, and, further to the west, in Kolhapur almost so far west as the town of Kolhapur.

Kanarese is derived from an older form Kannaḍa explained by Gundert as "black country", from Dravidian *kar*, 'black', and

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*nāḍu* country'. Sanskrit or Karnāṭaka, which occurs in Brihat Saṁhitā, seems to be a sanskritized form from the Prakrit Kannāḍa, or Kannāṭa.

The dialectic differences within Kanarese territory are, to judge from materials available, comparatively small. The most important dialect is Baḍaga, spoken in the Nilgiris by the so-called Baḍagas or Burghers. It is a more ancient form than ordinary Kanarese, and in several points agrees with the language of the old literature. [LSI p. 362-366]

*Pronunciation.* The short final vowel in such words as *maravu*, 'a tree', is shorter than an ordinary vowel, not having more than about half the ordinary length. In the local dialects short final vowels are often interchanged or dropped altogether.

*e* and *o* are pronounced as *ye* and *wo*, respectively, at the beginning of a word. When the word is closely united with the preceding one, however, the *y* and *w* are dropped.

When the first part of a compound word ends in a vowel the initial hard consonant of the second component is softened. Thus, *mara-kālu*, 'wooden leg', becomes *mara-gālu*.

The accent rests on the first syllable. In compound words a secondary stress is put on the first syllable of the second component. [LSI pp. 370-371]

*Nouns: Gender.* Words signifying Gods and male human beings are masculine, those denoting goddesses and women are feminine. Other words are neuter. The natural gender may be distinguished by prefixing *gaṇḍu*, male, and *heṇṇu*, female, thus, *gaṇḍu kūsa*, 'boy'; *heṇṇu kūsu*, 'girl'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plura Masculine and feminine *a*- bases, and many feminine nouns ending in *i*, ī, and *e* form their plural by adding *-aru*; nouns of relationship add *-andiru*, other nouns *-gaḷu*. An honorific plural is formed by adding *-avaru* to the genitive singular. Thus, *tāyiy-avaru*, 'mother'.

*Case.* Noun is declined by adding varying case suffixes to the different words patterns. No suffix is added to the noun in the nominative. Postpositions are added to the genitive. Thus,

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*guruv-inda*, 'by the teacher' ; *ūrin-alli*, 'in the town'. *Ōsara*, 'in order to' ; *inta*, 'than', etc., are added to the dative. [LSI p. 372]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives precede the noun they qualify. Comparison is expressed by adding the postpositions *inta*, 'than' ; *alli*, 'among', etc., to the compared noun. Thus, *avanu nanag-inta doḍḍavanu*, 'he me-than great' ; *yellar-alli chikka*, 'all-among small, smallest'. [LSI p. 372]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns are : *nā(nu)*, 'I' ; *nāvu*, 'we' ; *nī*(nu), 'thou' ; *nīvu* 'you' ; *ava*(nu), 'he' ; *avaḷu*, 'she' ; *avaru*, 'they'. The pronouns are declined like nouns except the adjectival pronouns, *a*, 'that' ; *ī* 'this' ; *yē* 'which ?', which are not declined. [LSI p. 372]

*Verbs.* Infinitives, verbal participles and relative participles are formed by adding one set of suffixes in the case of verbs ending in *u*, and another set in the case of verbs ending in *i*, *e*, or *ai*.

Nouns of agency and action are formed by adding the demonstrative pronoun *avanu*, f. *avaḷu*, n. *adu*, to the relative participles. Thus, *nāḍuv-avanu*, 'he who makes' ; *māḍuv-adu*, 'the act of making' ; negative *māḍaddu*.

The present tense is formed by adding *-ttēne* (sing.) *-ttēve* (plur.) in the first person ; *-tti* (*vē*) (sing.), *-ttiri* (plur.) in the second person ; *-ttāne* (*m.*), *-ttāḷe* (f.), *-ttade* (n.) (sing.), *-ttāre* (m. and f.), *-ttave* (n.) (plur.) in the third person.

The past tense is formed by adding to the final consonant of the base, *-idē*(*nu*) (sing.) *-idevu* (plur.) in the first person : *-idi* (sing.) *-idiri* (plur.) in the second person ; and *-ida*(*nu*) (m.) *idaḷu* (f.) *itu* (n.) (sing.) *-idaru* (m. & f.) *-tdavu* (n.) (plur.) in the third person.

The first future is formed by adding *-ne* (*nu*) (sing.) *-vevu* (plur.) in the first person ; *-vi* (sing.) *-viri* (plur.) in the second person ; and *-va*(*nn*) (m.), *-vaḷu* (f.), *-vadu* (n.) (sing), *-varu* (m. & f.) *-vavu* (n.) (plur.) in the third person.

Causal verbs are formed by adding *-isu* to the final consonant of the base ; thus, *māḍisu*, 'cause to make'.

The passive voice is formed by adding the verb *paḍu*, 'to

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experience', to the verbal noun in *-lu*, the final *-u* being dropped. Thus, *kareyal-paḍuttēne*, 'I am called'. [LSI pp. 372-373]

## BIJĀPURĪ

**266** The Kanarese spoken in Bijapur is locally known as Bijāpurī. It does not, however, differ from the standard form of the language to such an extent that it deserves to be considered as a separate dialect. The difference is chiefly one of pronunciation. Thus, we find an *a* very commonly substituted for final *e*; e.g., *yāka*, standard *yāke*, 'why'. An anusvāra is sometimes written before *v*; thus *kĩvi*, 'ear'; *ãva*, 'he'.

The dialect sometimes uses contracted forms instead of the fuller ones in the standard dialect; thus, *eḍḍu*, standard, *eraḍu*, 'two' (neuter); *nandu*, standard *nannadu*, 'mine'. [LSI p. 381]

## GOLARĪ OR HŌLIYĀ

**267** The Gōlars or Gōlkars are a tribe of nomadic herdsmen in the Central Provinces. They have been reported to speak a separate dialect of their own in Seoni, Nagpur, Chanda, Bhandara, and Balaghat.

The Hōliyās are a low caste of leather workers and musicians and have been returned from Seoni, Nagpur, and Bhandara. Their dialect is identical with that spoken by the Gōlars, and they are apparently simply an off-shoot of that tribe.

This dialect of Kanarese, is especially closely related to the form which that language assumes in Bijapur. The dialect is not uniform everywhere. The local differences are, however, unimportant, and are mainly due to corruptions resulting from intercourse with the Aryan neighbours. [LSI pp. 385-386]

*Pronunciation.* A short vowel is apparently often lengthened when a following double consonant is simplified; thus, *vāba*, standard *obba*, 'one'. Often, however, the vowel remains short; thus *mat*, standard *mattu*, 'and'. Short final vowels are very commonly dropped; thus, *ad*, 'it became'; *ag*, 'then', *e* and *o* are

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often replaced by *ya* and *va*, respectively, and the corresponding long vowels by *yā* and *vā*, respectively.

The use of aspirated sounds is rather inconsistent, and does not agree with the practice in standard Kanarese. Cf. *adhīt*, standard *ādītu*, 'it may become'. Double consonants are very often simplified; thus, *mat*, standard *mattu*, 'and'; *al*, standard *alli*, 'there'.

The substitution of *k* for *g* in the suffix of the dative, in forms, such as *appak*, 'to the father', *mānsāk*, 'to a man', represents the state of affairs found in old Kanarese. [LSI pp. 386-387]

*Verbs.* The short final vowel of verbal forms is usually dropped. Thus, *baḍutīn*, 'I strike'; *baḍutār*, 'they strike'. Gōlarī in this respect agrees with old Kanarese. We also sometimes find a final *m* in the third person singular, as in old Kanarese; thus, *ahām* and *āhān* 'he is'; *nittum* and *nittun*, 'he stayed'.

The second person singular sometimes takes the form of the third; thus, *māḍdun*, 'thou madest'.

The past tense of bases ending in *u* is formed by adding *d* directly to the consonant preceding *u* without inserting an *i*. Thus, *māḍdun*, standard *māḍidanu*, 'he made'. The same principle also prevails in old Kanarese.

Conjunctive participles, such as *māḍ-ke*, 'having done'; *huk-ke*, 'having gone' are due to the influence of the surrounding Aryan dialects.

Note finally the negative form *Koḍvālum*, standard *Koḍolanu*, 'he was not pleased to give'. [LSI p. 387]

## KURUMBA OR KURUMVĀRĪ

268 The Kurubas or Kurumbas are a race of nomadic shepherds in the Nilgiri Hills and neighbouring districts. The Kurumbas of the plains speak ordinary colloquial Kanarese.

Kurumvārī is a form of Kanarese. In many points, however, it agrees with Telugu and differs from the other language.



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The plural *pillagaṇḍlu*, 'children', is Telugu. Still more important is the fact that the feminine singular has no separate form, the neuter being used instead. Thus, *pille sāmānoka ittu*, 'the daughter was of indifferent beauty'. The adverbial suffix *-ga* is also used as in Telugu.

The *d* of the past tense is usually dropped. Thus, *māḍenu*, 'I did' ; *ōgine*, 'he went'. When the base ends in *n*, however, it is retained : thus *andā*, 'he said' ; *andade*, 'she said'.

A particle *allā* is often added to the verb apparently without changing the meaning. Thus, *antunallā*, 'he says'. Its original meaning is probably 'is it not so ?' [LSI pp. 396-397]

## KURUKH

269 Kurukh is spoken in the western portion of the Bengal Presidency and the adjoining parts of the Central Provinces. The bulk of the speakers of Kurukh are found in the Chota Nagpur Plateau. About three-fifths live in the Ranchi district especially in the north and northwest. They are further found in considerable numbers in the south of Palamau and in the Chota Nagpur States. More than 93 percent of the speakers in the tributary States are found in Gangpur and Jashpur. Speakers are further found in small numbers in the adjoining districts of Hazaribagh, Manbhum, Singbhum, Bonai, Pal Lahera, Bamra, Rairakhol, Sambalpur, Patna, Sarangarh, Raigarh, Sakti, Udaipur, Sarguja, and Korea. Emigrants have brought the language with them to to Jalpaiguri and the various districts of Assam, where it is spoken by collies in the tea-gardens.

*Dialects.* The Kurukh language is essentially the same over the whole area. The local forms of the language are in reality no separate dialects but more or less corrupt forms of standard Kurukh. The corruption is due to the influence of surrounding Aryan dialects, and sometimes also the influence of neighbouring Muṇḍā forms of speech may be perceived.

The Kurukhs are known under various names in different localities, such as, Orāõ, Kol, Kisān, Malhar, Kōṛā, Dhāṅgarī, etc. [LSI pp. 406-411]

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*Pronunciation.* Two vowels often follow each other without being pronounced as a diphthong. Thus, *chi'ina*, 'to give'. This is marked by an apostrophe between the two vowels. Two vowels separated by a stop and forming two different syllables are very commonly contracted. Thus, *chīdai* instead of *chi'idai*, 'he gives'. This contraction takes place regularly in the past tense of verbs. The contracted vowels are then, finally, often shortened in various ways. Thus, *i'i* become *i*; *ui* *u*; and *oē* *o*.

Final long vowels are shortened when a consonant is added. Thus, *akkū* and *akkun*, 'now'.

The guttural nasal *ṅ* is pronounced like *ng* in English '*king*' when it stands at the end of a syllable or is followed by *h*. Before a vowel on the other hand, it is an *ng* with a following g. Thus, *ēṅhai*, 'my', but *eṅgā*, 'me'.

The letter *kh* denotes the sound of *ch* in Scotch '*loch*'. In many places it has become an *h*. [LSI pp. 411-412]

*Nouns : Gender.* Men and gods are masculine ; women and goddesses are feminine ; other nouns are neuter. Feminine nouns are neuter in the singular. Kurukh in this respect agrees with Telugu.

*Number.* There are two numbers, as in other connected languages. There is not, however, any proper plural form of neuter nouns, the singular form being used for both numbers. If it is necessary to express plurality of neuter nouns, some word meaning 'many', 'all', etc. is added ; thus, *man-guṭhi*, 'tree-all, trees'.

The plural of rational nouns is formed by adding *-ar*. Cf. Tamil *-ar*, Kanarese *-aru*, Telugu *-āru*, etc.

*Case.* Case suffixes are added immediately to the base as is also the case in Muṇḍārī. In the case of masculine nouns, however, we have two bases in the singular. The simple base is used in an indefinite sense. When definiteness should be expressed, a suffix *-as* is added. Thus, *āl*, 'a man' ; *āl-as*, 'the man'. Both bases are then inflected in exactly the same way. The usual case suffixes are, accusative *-n* ; dative *-gē* ; ablative *-ti* ; genitive *-gahi* ; locative *-nū*. [LSI pp. 412-413]

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*Adjectives.* Adjectives do not differ in form from nouns. Nouns denoting qualities and verbal nouns are freely used as adjectives. Thus, *pannā*, 'iron' ; *pannā taṛṛī*, 'iron sword'.

Adjectives are not inflected unless they are used as nouns, in which case they take the usual case suffixes.

Comparison is effected by putting the compound noun in the ablative. Thus, *urbas jõkhas -tī kōhā taldas*, 'the-master the-servant-from great is'. [LSI p. 413]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns are : *ēn*, 'I' ; *ēm* (exclusive) *nām* (inclusive) 'we' ; *nin*. 'thou' ; *nim*, 'you' ; *tān*, 'self' ; *tām*, 'selves', *ās*, 'he' ; *ād*, 'she, it' ; *ār* (masc. and fem.) *abṛā* (neut.) 'they'.

With regard to the demonstrative pronouns, Kurukh agrees with Telugu in using the same form for the feminine and neuter singular. *as*, 'he', and *ad*, 'she, it', are also apparently most closely connected with Telugu *vāḍu*, 'he' ; *adi*, 'she, it'.

The forms *ā*, 'that' ; *ī*, 'this' ; *ū*, 'that, there', are used as adjectives before singular nouns. Before plural nouns the neuter plural is used as an adjective.

The interrogative pronouns are made indefinite by adding the indefinite particle *-im*. Thus, *ēk'am*, 'anyone' ; *indr'im*, 'anything', etc. [LSI pp. 414-415]

*Verbs.* Nouns and adjectives, including participles, are often used as verbs. Thus, *urban*, 'I am master' ; *urbai*, 'thou art master.'

The usual verbal noun ends in *-nā* and is regularly inflected. Thus, *esnā*, 'the breaking, to break'.

The conjunctive participle ends in *-ār*, and the particles *-ki* and *-darā* may be added. Thus, *es'ār*, *es'ārkī*, and *es'ār darā*, 'having broken'. Usually, however, the ordinary tenses are used instead.

There are three simple tenses, the present, the past, and the future.

The suffix of the present tense is *-da*, third person plural *-na* When the subject is of the feminine or neuter gender, the *d-* suffix

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is only used in the second person and in the first person plural when the person addressed is included.

The usual suffix of the past tense is *-ch*. Transitive verbs, however, commonly drop the *ch*. By adding *-kā* to the base of the past tense we get the past participle. The *-k* of this suffix precedes the personal terminations in the first and second persons masculine, and the second person feminine and neuter. Thus, *ba'anā*, 'to speak' ; *bachas*, 'he said' ; *piṭnā*, 'to kill' ; *piṭkan*, 'I killed'.

The characteristic of the future is *o* ; thus, *es'on*, 'I shall break'.

The persons differ for gender. The only exception is the future where there is only a difference in the third person singular. The singular neuter is also used for the plural neuter. The first and third persons feminine are only used in the conversation of women among themselves. In conversation with men the masculine forms are used instead.

The personal terminations are as follows :

First person : Singular *-n* ; plural *-m*

Second person : Singular *-ai* ; fem. and neut. *-i* ; plur. *-ar*, fem. *-ai*, neuter *-ī*.

Third person : Singular *-as*, fem. and neut., *-i*, past-*ā* ; plur. *-ar*, fem. *-ai*, neut. *-ī*, and *-ā*. The neuter termination is dialectically *-d* or *-t*.

The termination of the first person plural when the person addressed is included is *-at*.

The imperative ends in *-ā* ; thus, *es'ā*, 'break'. The feminine singular and the neuter imperative ends in *-ai* ; thus, *es'ai*, 'break'. The plural imperative in the talk of women to women ends in *-e* ; thus, *nīm es'ē*, 'break ye'.

A polite imperative is formed by adding *-kē* to the base ; thus, *es'kē*, 'please break'.

Other tenses are formed by means of auxiliaries.

Kurukh possesses a passive voice, formed by adding *-r-* to the base. Thus, *esrnā*, 'to be broken.'

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The passive verb is regularly conjugated. Thus, *esrdan*, 'I am broken' ; *esr'kan*, I was broken',

Causative verbs are formed by adding *-tā'anā*, *-d* or *-bā'anā* to the base. Thus, *estā'adan*, 'I cause to break'.

Kurukh has no proper negative verb. *Mal*, *ma'la*, or *malla*, 'not', is simply prefixed to the ordinary tenses. Thus, *mal'a eskan*, 'I did not break'. There are, besides, three negative verbs which are regularly inflected. [LSI pp. 415-417]

## KISĀN OF SARANGARH

270 The form of Kurukh spoken in Sarangarh is known by the name of Kisān. There are some characteristic points which this dialect shares with the various forms of Kurukh spoken in Raigarh, Pal Lahera, Bamra, and Rairakhol. Thus the use of an *h* instead of standard *kh* ; the accusative suffix *-nu* ; the use of accusative instead of the dative ; the genitive suffix *-ghē* or *-gē* ; the termination *-t* or *-d* of the third person neuter of verbal tenses, and so forth.

Some of the characteristics of this dialect are given below.

An *h* is usually, but apparently not always, substituted for standard *kh* ; thus, *hāpā*, 'tend' ; *haddu* and *khaddu*, 'son'. *ñj* becomes *ñch*. Thus, *nañchas*, 'he did' ; *mañchas*, 'he became' etc.

The genders are often confounded.

The accusative sometimes ends in *-nu* instead of *-n* ; thus, *dhannu*, 'the property'. The suffix of the genitive is *-ghē* ; thus, *tambas-ghē*. 'of his father'.

The short forms of the possessive pronouns are apparently used promiscuously ; thus, *tambās*, 'my father', *tañgdās*, 'thy son'. Similar forms are also used in Raigarh.

The inflexion of the verbs is mainly regular. The various persons are, however, occasionally confounded. Thus *mallijas*, I am not ; *chichkas*, thou gavest not ; *malbjas*, 'I am not'. [LSI p. 432]

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## DHÁṄGARĪ OR DHANVÁRĪ OF RAIGARH

271 The form of Kurukh spoken in Raigarh State is known as Dhāṅgarī or Dhanvārī. In most respects, it agrees with the so-called Kisān of Sarangarh.

*h* is, however, only occasionally substituted for standard *kh*.

The suffixes of the genitive are *-i*, corresponding to *-hi* in the so-called Dhāṅgirī of sambalpur, and *-kē*, corresponding to *-gē* in Sarangarh. The accusative sometimes ends in *-nā* instead of *-n*. This form is also used as a dative. On the other hand, we also find the dative used instead of the accusative ; thus, *eṅgagē via*, 'keep me'. The locative ends in *-nō̃* instead of *-nū*.

The short forms of the possessive pronouns are confounded as in Sarangarh. Thus, *embas*, 'his father' ; *eṅgdas*, thy son.

The conjugation of verbs is regular. [LSI p. 434]

## KISĀN OF BAMRA

272 The form of Kurukh spoken in Bamra State is known as Kisān, i.e., cultivators' language.

With regard to pronunciation, we may note the substitution of an *h* for standard *kh*. Thus, *hekhā* standard *khekkha*, 'hand'.

*Nouns*. The usual plural particle is a prefixed *bagi-*. Thus, *bagi-ghoṛī*, 'mares' ; *bagi-kokai*, 'daughters'.

The usual case-suffixes are, accusative *-n*, *-nu* ; dative *-kī*, *-ge* ; ablative *-tī* ; genitive *-kē*, *-gē* ; locative *-nū*.

Forms, such as *māl-jālar*, 'of the property' ; *alaskar*, 'of a man', are formed with the genitive suffix *-r* of the Oṛiyā dialect spoken in the State.

*Pronouns*. The final *ai* of the genitive of personal pronouns has been replaced by *ē* ; thus *eṅghē*, 'my'.

*Verbs*. The present tense of the verb substantive is *atlan*, 'I am' ; *atlai*, 'thou art' ; *atlas*, 'he is' ; *atli*, 'it is'. The masculine form is also apparently used for the feminine. [LSI pp. 440-441]

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## MALTO

273 Malto is almost exclusively spoken in the Rajmahal Hills in the north-east of the Sonthal Parganas. Malto is the name used by the people themselves in order to denote their language. This language very closely agrees with Kurukh. It has, however, been strongly influenced by Aryan Tongues, especially in vocabulary, and there are also some traces of the influence of the neighbouring Santālī. [LSI pp. 446-447]

*Pronunciation* *b* is described as fluctuating between the English *b* and *v*; and *w* is said to be something between English *v* and *w*, *q*, as *k*, is uttered with the root of the tongue pressed back on the throat, so as to check the voice gently and to occasion a clicking sound. There also occurs a deep *g*, which is said to be like the Northumbrian *r*. Cf. Arabian *ghain*. [LSI pp. 447-448]

*Nouns* : *Gender*. Men and gods are masculine, women and goddesses are feminine. All other nouns are neuter. The feminine agrees with the neuter in the singular, and with the masculine in the plural. Neuter nouns have no plural.

The natural gender is distinguished in the usual way by prefixing words, such as *bokṛa*, 'male', *ḍaḍi*, 'female', in the case of four footed animals, etc.

*Number*. There are two numbers the singular and the plural. The plural of rational nouns is formed by adding *-r* ; thus, *maler*, 'men' ; *malnīr*, 'women'. A kind of plural is in a similar way formed from neuter nouns by adding *-gahṇḍi*, 'a flock, a multitude'.

*Case*. The case suffixes are added immediately to the base, just is in the case in Kurukh. The suffixes are also mainly the same as in that form of speech. It should, however, be noted that Malto always uses the definite nominative, not only of masculine nouns, but also of feminine and neuter bases. Thus, *maleh*, 'a man' ; *malrith*, 'a woman' ; *mauth*, 'a tree'. The terminations of the nominature are those belonging to the demonstrative pronouns. [LSI p. 448]

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*Adjectives.* Nouns are freely used as adjectives. A final *e* is dropped, and so also the final *i* of *peli*, 'woman'. Thus, *male*, 'man' ; *mal ṭeṭuth*, 'a human hand'. [LSI p. 448]

*Numerals.* Malto has borrowed Aryan forms for the numerals 'three' and following. Aryan forms are also commonly used for the two first numerals.

When the Dravidian forms are used to qualify neuter nouns, generic particles are prefixed to them in order to denote the kind of noun qualified. Such particles are *maq*, referring to animals ; *paṭ*, denoting things with a flat surface ; *kaḍ*, denoting objects of the appearance of tendrils ; *dāṛ*, long things ; *pāṛ*, round things, etc. Thus, *maq-ond ēṛe*, 'one goat' ; *pāṛond pānu*, 'one egg'. [LSI pp. 448-449]

*Pronouns.* The Malto pronouns are the same as those used in Kurukh. Forms, such as, *Abba*, 'my father', but *abbo* 'thy father', are peculiar, and they seem to be formed by adding a personal suffix as is the case in Santālī.

There are no neuter plurals of the demonstrative pronouns, the singular being used instead. Indefinite pronouns are formed by adding *-goṭe* or *-beḍi* to the interrogative pronouns. Thus, *ikeh-goṭe*, 'anyone'. [LSI p. 449]

*Verbs.* The conjugation system closely agrees with Kurukh. It is, however, richer in forms than is the case in that latter language. Thus it not only possesses a present, a past, and a future, but also a conjunctive and an optative, and there is a corresponding series of negative forms. This may probably be due to the influence of Santālī.

The present and conjunctive participles are very commonly conjugated in person and number, just as in Kurukh. In a similar way ordinary adverbs are often replaced by inflected forms agreeing in person and number with the subject.

As in other connected languages, nouns of agency are formed from the relative participles by adding the terminations of the demonstrative pronouns. Thus, from *baje*, 'to strike', the relative



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participles *baju*, 'who strikes', and *bajpe*, 'who struck', are formed. Such nouns of agency can also be conjugated. Thus, *ēn bajun*, 'I am a striker'. There are many verbal nouns and participles.

The suffix of the present tense is *-i*, and in the 2nd person singular and the 2nd and 3rd persons plural suffix *-n* is added. The past tense is formed as in Kurukh, and the characteristic of the future seems to be *e*.

The passive voice is formed by adding *-uwr* or *-ur*, probably a form of the verb substantive, to the base. Thus, *baj-uwre*, 'to be struck'. This form is very commonly used reflexively.

Causatives are formed by adding the suffix *-tr* ; thus, *mēñjtre*, 'to cause to make'. From such verbs we may form double causatives by adding *-tit* ; thus, *baj-tr-tite*, 'to cause someone to have someone struck'.

Compound verbs are very extensively formed. Thus, *āne*, 'to say' ; *ān-naqe*, 'to speak to one another'. The verb *mene*, 'to be', is frequently used, as the second part of transitive compounds.

The negative verb is inflected throughout. This conjugation is effected by inserting the negative particle *l* and then conjugating. Instead of *l* we may also add the verb *maleken*, 'I am not', to a participle ending in *o*, thus, *bando-maleken*, 'I don't draw'. [LSI pp. 449-451]

## KUI, KANDHĪ, OR KHOND

274 The Kandhs or Khonds are a Dravidian tribe in the hills of Orissa and neighbouring districts. The tribe is commonly known under the name of Khond. The Oriyās call them Kandhs, and the Telugu people Gōṇḍs or Kōds. The name which they use themselves is Ku.

Kui is surrounded, on all sides, by Oṛiyā. Towards the south it extends towards the confines of the Telugu territory. The language varies locally all over this area. There are two principal dialects, one eastern, spoken in Gumsur and the adjoining parts of Bengal, and one western, spoken in Chinna Kimedi. In the north, Kui has come under the influence of the neighbouring Aryan forms of speech. [LSI p. 457]

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*Pronunciation.* *ḍ* is often pronounced as *ṛ* in the Khondmals; thus, *gōḍā* and *gōṛā*, 'horse'. In Chinna Kimedi *l* is used instead. Thus, *pāḍu* and *pālu*, 'milk'. In Kalahandi *l* is also often substituted for *r*; thus, *nēgali*, standard *nēgari*, 'a good woman'.

[LSI p. 459]

*Nouns : Gender.* There are two genders, the masculine and the neuter. The former is used for men and gods, while all other nouns are neuter.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The masculine nouns form their plural in *ru*; thus, *aba*, 'father', *abāru*, 'fathers'. Other nouns add *skā*, *kā*, *gā* or *wi*; thus *āṅgi-skā*; 'sisters' etc.

*Case.* The nouns are inflected for case. Different case suffixes are added in singular and plural and also to different word types. [LSI pp. 460-462]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives are indeclinable. They are formed from nouns by adding *-gaṭṭa*; thus, *daṭa-gaṭṭa*, 'strength-having, strong'. [LSI p. 462]

*Numerals.* The old numerals are apparently disappearing, being replaced by Aryan forms. The Dravidian numerals are still in use up to seven.

[LSI p. 460]

*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns are : *ānu* 'I'; *āju* (inclus.) *āmu* (exclus.) 'we'; *īnu*, 'thou'; *īru*, 'you'; *ēañju*, 'he', *ēri*, *ērā*, 'she, it'; *ēāru*, (masc.), *ēwi*, *ēwa* (*-skā*), (fem. and neut.), 'they'; *tānu* (sing.), *tāru* (plur.) 'self'. The pronouns are declined like the nouns, except, *innā*, 'what', which is indeclinable.

[LSI p. 462]

*Verbs.* There are only two proper tenses, the indefinite and the past. The indefinite tense is used as a future and a present. The negative verb has the same two tenses. Kui in this respect must be compared with old Kanarese. Other tenses are formed by adding the verb substantive to the verbal participles. These are never used alone, but, with the addition of a *nā*, they are used to form adverbial phrases.

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The terminations which are added to the regular verbs in the indefinite (present and future) and past tenses are the following :

| | Present and future | | Past | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Positive | Negative | Positive | Negative |
| Sing. 1 | -iĩ | -ēnu | -itē | ātē (nu) |
| 2 | -idi | -āi | -iti | -āti |
| 3m. | -ineñju | -eñju | -iteñju | -āteñju |
| 3 f. & n. | -inē | -ē | -itē | -ātē |
| Plu. 1 incl. | -ina | -assu | -ita | -ātassu |
| 1 excl. | -ināmu | -āmu | -itāmu | -ātāmu |
| 2 | -idēru | -ēru | -itēru | -ātēru |
| 3 m. | -inēru | -ēru | -itēru | -ātēru |
| 3 f. & n. | -inu | -u | -itu | -ātu |

Thus, we have *pāgineñju*, 'he strikes', etc.

The imperative is formed by adding *-āmu* (sing.) and *ātu* (plur.) in the negative.

The compound verbs are formed by adding the verb *manba*, 'to be', to the present and past conjunctive participles. Thus, *gipki-maĩ*, 'I am doing'.

Verbal nouns are formed from the relative participles by adding the terminations of the personal pronoun of the third person. Thus, *tinañju*, 'an eater' ; fem. and neut. *Tināri*.

[LSI pp. 460, 462-463]

## GŌṆḌĪ

275 Gōṇḍī is the principal Dravidian language of Northern India. The word Gōṇḍ occurs in the works of Sanskrit lexicographers like Hemchandra as a term denoting a low tribe. The Gōṇḍs call themselves Kōi.

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The Gōṇḍs have once been a numerous and powerful race, and their language must have been spoken over a very wide area. In the course of time, however, the bulk of them have come under the influence of Aryan civilisation, and have given up their old customs and their native language.

The heart of Gōṇḍ country is the plateau of the Central Provinces from Wardha in the west and south to Balaghat and Mandla in the east and north. To the south of Nandgaon it continues through Bastar and Chanda into the Madras Presidency where we find Gōṇḍī spoken side by side with Telugu in Vizagapatam and Godavari, and further into Hyderabad where Telugu and Gōṇḍī are spoken all over the north-eastern portion of the State.

Gōṇḍī has no well-defined linguistic boundaries, the speakers being almost everywhere scattered among people employing various other languages. In the north it meets with Eastern and Western Hindī and Rājasthānī, to the west we find Marāṭhī, to the south Telugu, and to the east Telugu, Oṛiyā, Hal$^{a}$bī, and Chhattīsgaṛhī.

Gōṇḍī language does not differ much in the various districts. There is only one real dialect of Gōṇḍī, the so-called Parjī spoken in the Bastar State. [LSI pp. 472-474]

Gōṇḍī is not a written language.

*Pronunciation*. An *r* is often cerebralised in Kairagarh, Bhandra and Nagpur and many other places. The cerebralisation of *r* is especially common in the plural forms of pronouns and verbs. Thus, *ōṛk*, 'they'; *mattoṛam*, 'we were', etc. In the northern most dialects and in the south, on the other hand, the dental *r* is used instead.

Initial *r* becomes *l* in words, such as *lōn*, instead of *rōn*, 'house', in Kankar, Bastar, and Chanda.

Initial *s* often becomes *h* in Kanker and Bastar; thus, *hīm* for *sīm*, 'give'.

The palatals are pronounced as in Sanskrit and Hindī. In Kōi dialect of the Madras Presidency, however, *ch* and *j* are pronounced as *ts* and *dz* respectively, when not followed by *i* or *e*, as is also the case in Telugu and Marāṭhī. [LSI pp. 478-479]

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*Nouns : Gender.* There are two genders, the masculine and the neuter. The former is used for men and gods, while all other Dravidian languages with the exception of Kui, not only from Tamil and Kanarese, which have a separate feminine gender, but also from Telugu. The latter language agrees with Gōṇḍī in the singular, but uses the masculine and not the neuter form to denote the plural of nouns which denote women and goddesses.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The usual suffixes of the plural are *-k* and *-ṅg* ; thus, *kāl-k*, 'feet' ; *maṭṭā-ṅg*, 'mountains'.

*Case.* The declension of nouns shows that the distinction of the two genders in Gōṇḍī is a late development of the language and presupposes a state of affairs which more closely corresponded to that prevailing in other connected languages, where there are two genders, one for rational and the other for irrational beings. We can distinguish two declensions. In the first an *-n* is added to the base before the case suffixes, and in the second a *-t-* is inserted. Thus, *tammur*, 'a brother', oblique base *tammun*, but *chhauvā*, 'a child', oblique base *chhauvāt*.

The second declension in Gōṇḍī now comprises several nouns denoting rational beings and is, broadly speaking, the regular one.

Gōṇḍī uses the same form for the dative and the accusative, the usual suffix being *-un*, corresponding to Kanarese *-nnu*, Telugu *-nu* and *-ni*.

Other case suffixes are, ablative *-āl* and *-sē* ; genitive *-ōr*, *-ā* ; locative *-e* ; and vocative *-nī*, plural *-nīṭ*. The ablative suffix *-āl* is the same as the Tamil suffix of the instrumental ; *-sē* is Aryan. The genitive suffix is inflected so as to agree with the qualified noun.

[LSI pp. 479-480]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives are not inflected. Comparison is effected by putting the compared noun in the ablative.

[LSI p. 480]

*Numerals.* The Gōṇḍī forms are used all over the Gōṇḍī area so far as seven. For 'eight' and following numbers Aryan loan-words are commonly used in Maṇḍla and the neighbourhood.

[LSI pp. 480-481]

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*Pronouns.* The personal pronouns are : (n) *anna*, 'I' ; (m) *ammāṭ*, 'we' ; *immā*, 'thou' ; *immāṭ*, *immāṛ*, 'you' ; *ōr*, 'he' ; *ad*, 'she, it', *ōr* (*k*), (masc.) *aū* (fem. neut.) 'they'. These pronouns are inflected like the nouns. The form *ōr* is also used as a plural meaning 'they'. In this sense, however, a new plural suffix *-k* is commonly added ; thus, *ōrk*, 'they'.

The interrogative pronoun *bōr*, 'who ?', neuter *bad*, is inflected like *ōr*. It is also inflected in person so as to agree with the subject. Thus, if we want to say, 'who are you ?' We must say *immā boni* (not *bōr*) *āndi*. [LSI pp. 481-482]

*Verbs.* The Gōṇḍī verb is apparently much richer in forms, than is the case in other Dravidian languages.

The main tenses can be divided into two classes. The first comprises the present and the indefinite past, the second the imperfect, the perfect, and the future.

The two classes use different personal terminations, and it will be seen that those added in the first class closely correspond to the terminations of the interrogative pronoun. This fact enables us to understand the real nature of such tenses.

In Gōṇḍī there are three different verbal participles, a present, a past, and an indefinite. Thus, *kīātā*, 'doing' ; *kītā*, 'done, having done, ; *kīē* 'doing' (indefinite). Verbal nouns of agency are formed from all these participles ; thus, *kiātōr*, 'a doer' ; *kītār*, 'one who has done' ; *kīēr*, 'one who does', or 'who will do'. It shows that the conjugational system of Gōṇḍī agrees with that occurring in other Dravidian forms of speech.

The regular past tense is formed by adding the suffix *-t*, which occurs in the form *tt* in Tamil and *d* in Kanarese.

The suffix of the future is *-k* as in old Tamil and Malayāḷam.

The personal terminations used in the inflexion of verbs in Gōṇḍī are as follows :

| *Singular* | *Plural* |
|---|---|
| 1. ā (n) | 1. ōm |
| 2. ī | 2. īṭ, iṛ |
| 3. m. (u) r | 3. m. r (k) |
| 3. f. and n.— | 3. f. and n. ṅg |

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Thus, we have *-kīāṭōr*, 'he does'. The third person singular feminine and neuter has no separate termination. In these forms *-ā*, *-ār* and *-u* may be added. Instead of *-ār* we also find *-āl*; thus, *mandāl*, 'it is', in Mandla.

The plural suffixes of the third person are formed from the singular suffixes by adding the usual plural termination.

The imperative is indicated with the base, and *ṭ* is added in the plural. Thus, *uddā*, 'sit'; *varāṭ*, 'come ye'.

The verbal noun ends in *-ā*; thus, *kīā*, 'to do'.

The negative verb is formed in the same way as in connected languages by adding the personal terminations to the base without any tense suffixes. [LSI pp. 482-485]

*The position of Gōṇḍī in Dravidian.* In some points, as in the confusion between dative and accusative and the inflexion of the genitive, so as to agree with the qualified noun, it has struck out independent lines of its own.

In some points it agrees with Telugu, as in some of the inflected forms of the personal pronouns, indefinite and conjunctive participles.

In most respects Gōṇḍī agrees with Tamil and Kanarese, more especially with the older forms of these languages. Compare the distinction of two declensions, the case terminations, the personal pronouns, formation of verbal tense, the personal terminations of verbs and negative verb.

Gōṇḍī must, therefore, be derived from the same old dialect form which Tamil and Kanarese have developed i.e. from what Kumārila called the Drāviḍa-bhāshā, as opposed to the Āndhra-bhāshā, the parent of modern Telugu. [LSI p. 485]

## GŌṆḌĪ OF DISTRICT WUN

276 The dialect has several characteristic features of its own.

*ś* is often used where ordinary Gōṇḍī has *h*; thus *śuṛa* 'see'; *śōtōr*, 'he went'.

The inflexion of nouns and pronouns is mainly regular. Note, however, plural forms such as *pōralīr*, 'sin'; *padīk*, 'swine',

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There is apparently no difference between the declension of nouns denoting rational and those denoting irrational beings. Cf. *dēsnōr*, 'of the country'; *divasne*, 'in (some) days'; *vōnkūn*, 'to him'; *hōrkūn*, 'to them'.

The present tense of the verb substantive is given as follows :

| *Singular* | *Plural* |
|---|---|
| 1. Mantōn | 1. mantōm |
| 2. Mantī. | 2. mantīr |
| 3. Mantōr | 3. mantēr. |

Similar forms are also used for finite verbs.

The past participle is used as an adjective Thus, *mastita paḍā*, 'the fattened calf.' The same form also occurs as a verbal noun. Thus, *kharchī-kita-upar*, 'expenditure making-after, after he had spent.' [LSI p. 503]

In Chanda and Bastar the language of the Gōṇḍs begins to assume a somewhat different character. Here we begin to find several traces of the influence of the neighbouring Telugu. This influence goes on increasing as we pass into the Madras Presidency, and we find dialects which can be characterised as links between the two languages.

All the dialects in question have, however, some characteristic features in common, and it will prove convenient to point out some of them before proceeding to deal with them.

An *l* is substituted for the initial *r* in *lōn*, 'house', and some other words.

These dialects have separate forms for the dative and accusative. In this respect these dialects differ from ordinary Gōṇḍī and agree with Telugu.

In these dialects, we find two different forms of plural of the personal pronoun of the first person, viz., *monnaḍa*, 'we', inclusive, and *mamma*, 'we', exclusive.

The neuter demonstrative pronoun assumes forms which correspond to these usual in Telugu.



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In the tenses of the ordinary Gōṇḍī verbs there are two classes, differing in the formation of plural forms, as has been shown in the foregoing pages. In these dialects there is nothing corresponding to such forms. [LSI pp. 528-529]

## GŌṆḌĪ OF BASTAR

277 The characteristics in which the dialect of Bastar differs from the ordinary Gōṇḍī are given below :

Initial *l* is substituted for *r*, and *h* for *s*, in words, such as *lōn*, 'house' ; *hīmṭū*, 'give'.

The dative ends in *-ki* or *-ku* ; thus, *marrinki*, 'to the son' ; *goḍḍuku*, 'to the cattle'. The ablative ends in *agāḍa* ; thus, *dhant-agāḍā*, 'from the property'.

The personal pronouns are : *nannā* 'I' ; *nimma*, 'thou' ; *vōr*, 'he' ; *ad*, 'she, it'.

The present tense of finite verbs is slightly different from the standard dialect. Thus, *dāntān*. 'I go' ; *dāntīn*, 'thou goest' ; *dāntōr*, 'he goes' ; *dāntā*, 'she goes' ; *dāntīr*, 'you go' ; *dāntōk*, 'they go'. Future forms are *dakān*, 'I shall go' ; *ketakān*, 'I shall say'.

Nagative forms are *punnōn*, 'I do not know' ; *sēvōr*, 'he did not give' ; *hannōr*, 'he did not go'. A past negative tense is formed in the same way as in Kui. [LSI pp. 529-530]

## MAṚIĀ OF BASTAR

278 The Maṛiā of Bastar seems to be almost identical with the Gōṇḍī of the district.

The pronunciation is the same.

The usual plural suffix is *-ku* ; thus, *marrī*, 'son' ; *marku*, 'sons' ; *pal-ku*, 'teeth'.

The accusative ends in *-n* and the dative in *-ke* or *-ku*, but the two cases are continually confounded. Other cases are formed as in Gōṇḍī.

The pronouns are the same as in Gōṇḍī dialect of Bastar. 'We' is *mayō* and *mama*, and 'our' is *mava*.

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The personal terminations are :

| *Sing.* | *Plur.* |
|---|---|
| 1. -n | 1. -ōm |
| 2. -ī (n) | 2. -īr |
| 3. m. ēr, ōr | 3. m. -ōr |
| 3. f. & n. -ā, -u | |

Thus, we have *dāntōr*, 'he goes', etc.

Future forms are *rehtākān*, 'I shall strike' ; *rehtākīn*, 'thou wilt strike' ; *rehtānōr*, 'he will strike'.

The negative verb is regular. There are, however, also a negative infinitive and a negative participle. Thus, *ivā-mattōr*, 'to-give-not-was, he did not give' ; *māyvā-ōre*, 'not being'.

[LSI pp. 532-533]

## GŌṆḌĪ OF VIZAGAPATAM AND GODAVARI AGENCIES

279 *Nouns.* The suffixes of the plural are *-ru*, *-ku*, (*sku*), and *-ṅgu*, thus, *tappe*, 'father' ; *tappēru* 'fathers'.

The nouns are inflected for case. Different terminations are added to different word-patterns.

*Pronouns.* There are two forms of the plural of the personal pronoun of the first person *manaḍa* and *mamma*. The former includes, and the latter excludes, the person addressed.

The demonstrative masculine plural pronoun is sometimes also used to denote women. This fact is due to the influence of Telugu.

*Verb.* The present tense of the verb substantive is conjugated as follows :

| *Singular* | *Plural* |
|---|---|
| 1. minnāna | 1. minnāmu |
| 2. minnīni | 2. minnīri |
| 3. m. minnõṇḍu | 3. m. minnōru |
| 4. f. & n. minne | 4. f. & n. minnāṅgu |

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The same personal terminations are used throughout ; thus, *mattīni* : 'thou wast' ; *mandakōna*, 'I shall be', and so on.

The finite verb has three regular tenses, an indefinite which is used as a present and a future ; a past tense, and a future. The tense suffixes are the same as in ordinary Gōṇḍī. Verbal nouns and verbal participles are formed as in other Gōṇḍī dialects.

The conjunctive participle ends in *-i* ; thus, *tēdi*, 'having arisen'.

Relative participles are used instead of relative pronouns. The usual termination is *-e* ; thus, *ōṇḍu tungte pani*, 'he doing work, the work he did' ; Another form ends in *-āni*. Thus, *nāki vadāni pālu*, 'me-to coming share'.

The negative verb is regularly formed. There are apparently also negative participles and verbal nouns.

The interrogative particle is *ā* ; thus, *ivir-ā*, 'do you not give ?' [LSI pp. 546-548]

## PARJĪ

280 The Parjas are an aboriginal tribe in the Bastar State. They are found round Jagdalpur and towards the south and south-east.

Parjī is a dialect of Gōṇḍī. Due to the non-availability of sufficient material, only a few remarks about the dialect are being made.

*Pronunciation.* Final *d* is interchangeable with *t* ; *n* is sometimes replaced by *l*, etc. Thus, *chēndēt* and *chēndēd*, 'went'.

*Nouns.* The suffixes of the plural are *-ēr*, *-l*, and *-kul* ; thus, *sākhītēr*, 'witnesses' ; *chiṇḍu-l*, 'sons' ; *pēn-kul*, 'swine'.

The case suffixes are almost the same as in Gōṇḍī.

*Numerals.* The numerals above six are borrowed from the Aryan neighbours.

*Pronouns.* The main forms of the personal pronouns are : *ān* 'I' ; *am*, 'we' ; *in*, 'thou' ; *im*, 'you' ; *ōd*, 'he', etc.

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Some other pronouns are : *ēdā*, 'who ?' *nā*, 'what ?' ; *i* and *hā*, 'this'.

*Verbs.* The suffix of the past tense is *-d* or *-t*, and in the future we sometimes find a suffix *-r*. Thus, *tāpētēn*, 'I struck' ; *taprān*, 'I shall strike'. The corresponding present tense is given as *tāpēn*, 'I strike', etc.

The regular personal terminations are as under :

| *Singular* | *Plural* |
|---|---|
| 1. -n | 1. -m |
| 2. -t or -d | 2. -r |
| 3 masc. -t or -d | 3. masc. -r |
| 3 neut. -ā | |

The personal suffixes are sometimes omitted, and sometimes are confounded.

In the third person singular we sometimes find *j* instead of *d*, *t* ; thus, *ēñjēj*, 'he became' ; *chājēj*, 'he made'.

The characteristic suffix of the negative verb seems to be *-ā*. Compare *tāpān-ā*, 'I did not strike' ; *chivr-ā*, 'you gave-not'.

The conjunctive participle ends in *-i* ; thus *chēni*, 'having gone'.

[LSI pp. 554-555]

## KŌLĀMĪ

281 The Kōlāms are an aboriginal tribe in East Berar and the Wardha district of the Central Provinces.

The Kōlāmī dialect differs widely from the language of the neighbouring Gōṇḍs. In some points it agrees with Telugu, in other characteristics with Kanarese and connected forms of speech. There are also some interesting points of analogy with the Toda dialect of the Nilgiris, and the Kōlāms must, from a philological point of view, be considered as the remnants of an old Dravidian tribe who have not been involved in the development of the principal Dravidian languages, or of a tribe who have not originally spoken a Dravidian form of speech.

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The principal features of the dialect are given below.

*Nouns.* The usual suffix of the plural is *-l* ; thus, *paisā-l* 'money'.

The dative has the same form as the accusative, the suffix being *-n* or *-ṅg* ; thus, *bālan*, 'the son' ; *māsur-uṅg*, 'to the men'. The genitive is formed by adding *-n*, *-ne*, or *-net*, and the locative by adding *-t*.

*Pronouns.* The main personal pronouns are : *an* 'I' ; *am*, 'we' ; *nīva*, *iva*, 'thou' ; *im*, 'you' ; *amd*, 'he' ; *ad*, 'it' ; *aur*, 'they', neut. *adā*.

The plural forms are apparently seldom used, the singular forms being used instead.

Some of the other pronouns are ; *tān*, 'what ?' ; *yēnd*, *yēr*, 'who ?'.

*Verbs.* The verb substantive forms its present tense as follows :

*aṇḍāt* (ūn), 'I am'. *aṇḍātīv*, 'thou art' ; *āṇḍān*, 'he is' ; *aṇḍā(t)*, 'it is'. The corresponding past tense is :

| *Singular* | *Plural* |
|---|---|
| 1. āṇḍānī | 1. āṇḍām |
| 2. āṇḍīv | 2. āṇḍīr |
| 3. āṇḍen | 3. āṇḍēr |

Finite verbs are similarly inflected. The present tense is also used as a future, and the characteristic consonant of the past tense is *d*, *t*. Thus, *kakatūn*, 'I shall make' ; *kaktān* 'I did'.

The imperative takes no suffix, but *-r* is added in the plural. Thus, *kō*, 'give', *tim*, 'eat'.

The negative verb is formed by adding *tōten*, to the base. Thus, *si-tōten*, '(thou) gavest not'. In other cases the negative verb is formed by adding an *-e* to the base, and using the ordinary personal and tense suffixes. Thus, *seren*, 'he went not'.

[LSI pp. 561-563]

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## BHĪLĪ OF BASIM

282 The Bhīls of the Pusad Taluqa of the Basim district, or at least some of them, speak a dialect which is almost identical with Kōlāmī.

*Pronunciation.* *l* is sometimes substituted for *n*; thus, *kōstel*, instead of *kōsten*, 'he sent'. Final *n* before a labial becomes *m*; thus, *bāpam muṭṭen*, 'he said to his father'. *n* is often changed to *nd*; thus, *avan* and *avand*, 'he'.

*Nouns.* The plural suffixes are *-ḷ* and *-kuḷ*; *ghurrā-ḷ*, 'horses'; *bāpō-kuḷ*, 'fathers'.

On the whole, the case-suffixes are the same as in Kōlāmī.

*Numerals.* The numerals are the same as in Kōlāmī. 'Five' is, however, *pāch*, and 'twenty' *vīs*.

*Pronouns.* The main personal pronouns are: *ān*, 'I'; *am*, 'we'; *nīv*, 'thou'; *nīr*, 'you'; *avan(d)*, 'he'; *aur*, 'they'. In Bhili we find forms such as *inner bāla*, 'thy son', where the possessive pronoun agrees with the qualified noun in the same way as in Gōṇḍī.

Some other pronominal forms are, *yēnd*, 'who?' *taned*, 'what?'

*Verbs.* The conjugation of verbs presents some points of interest.

The present tense of the verb substantive is formed as follows:

| *Singular* | | *Plural* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | aṇḍāt | 1. | aṇḍātum |
| 2. | aṇḍātīv | 2. | aṇḍātīr |
| 3 m. | aṇḍān | 3. | aṇḍār |
| 3 n. | aṇḍād | | |

The past tense is the same as in Kōlāmī. Note, however, *aṇḍun*, 'I was', *aṇḍum*, 'we were'.

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Finite verbs form their present tense from a participle ending in *-s*, and the past from a form ending in *-t*. The various tenses of the verb *gōḷ*, 'to beat', are given as follows :

| Present | | Past | | Future | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Sing. | Plur. | Sing. | Plur. | Sing. | Plur. |
| 1. Gōḷsātūn | gōḷsātum | goṭṭān | goṭṭam | gōḷātūn | gōḷātum |
| 2. gōḷsātīv | gōḷsātīr | goṭṭīv | goṭṭīv | gōḷātī | gōḷātīv |
| 3. gōḷsān | gōḷsār | goṭṭen | goṭṭēr | gōḷdān | gōḷdār |

The negative verb is formed from the base without adding any tense suffixes, or by adding *-tōdī*, 'not', to the infinitive. Thus, *murken*, 'I did not break' ; *siyaṅg-tōdī*, 'thou gavest-not, he gave not'. [LSI pp. 565-567]

## NAIKĪ DIALECT

283 Naikī is the dialect of the Darwe Gōṇḍs in Chanda.

This dialect is now practically extinct. The dialect in many important points agrees with Kōlāmī and differs from ordinary Gōṇḍī.

*Nouns.* Two plural suffixes *-kōr* and *-l* are used. The former seems to be added to nouns denoting rational beings ; thus, *pōrakōr*, 'children'. The dative and accusative do not appear to be distinguished ; thus, *ānun*, 'me, to me'. The usual suffixes are *-n*, *-un*, *-kun*. The suffix of the genitive is *-nē*, and the locative is formed by adding *lōpul* ; thus, *akās-nē*, 'of heaven' ; *dēsam-lōpul*, 'in the country'.

*Pronouns.* The main forms of the personal pronouns are : *ān*, 'I' ; *ām*, 'we' ; *īn*, 'thou' ; *īm*, 'you' ; *aun*, 'he' ; *ād*, 'she, it'.

'who ?' is *ēn*, and *tā* is 'what ?'. By adding *-ī*, *-nī*, indefinite pronouns are formed ; thus, *yēnī*, 'anyone' ; *tānī*, 'anything'.

*Verbs.* From the materials available it appears that verbs do not change for person ; thus, *anlēn*, 'I am, thou art, it is'.

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The characteristic consonant of the present tense seems to be *l*, and that of the past *t*, which is combined with a preceding consonant in various ways. Thus, *sivlēn*, 'it gives' ; *sitēn*, 'he gave'.

The personal termination is usually *n*, but we also find other terminations. The forms ending in *r* are properly plural forms.

The negative verb is formed by adding *-ē* to the root. Thus, *sēr-ē-n*, 'he went not'.

The root alone is used as an imperative ; thus, *sī*, 'give' ; *īḍ*, 'put'. [LSI pp. 570-571]

## TELUGU

284 Telugu is the principal language of the Eastern part of Indian Peninsula from Madras to Bengal. It is bordered on the north by Dṛiyā and Hal$^{a}$bī dialect, Gōṇḍī and Marāṭhī, on the west by Marāṭhī and Kanarese, and on the south by Kanarese.

Telugu is supposed to be a corruption of sanskrit word, *Triliṅga*. Telugu pandits commonly state Tenugu to be the proper form of the word, which they derive from *tēne*, 'honey'.

*Dialects*. Telugu is not a uniform language over the whole territory where it is spoken as a vernacular. The dialect spoken in Northern Circars is usually considered as the purest form of the language. The dialects known from Northern India do not differ much from the standard form of the language. Caste dialects of Telugu are also spoken in the Kanarese and in Bombay. Three such dialects have been returned for the use of this survey, Bēraḍī and Dāsrī from Belgaum, and Kāmāṭhī from Bombay Town and Island. A similar dialect is the so-called Vaḍarī, spoken by a vagrant tribe in the Bombay Presidency, Berar and other districts. None of them, however, differs much from the ordinary form of the language.

On the other hand, the difference between the conversational language and the literary form is considerable. [LSI pp. 576-577]

*Pronunciation*. The short final vowel in words, such as, *gurramu*, 'a horse', has only about half the length of an ordinary short vowel, and is often dropped altogether. All long vowels have a slightly drawling pronunciation which is not used in English.



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The palatals are pronounced as in Marāṭhī, that is to say, they retain the pronunciation as real palatals before *i*, *ī*, *e*, *ē*, *ai*, and *y*. In other cases *ch* is pronounced as *ts* and *j* as *dz*. A similar interchange is often found between the dental and palatal *s* sounds, *ś* being very commonly substituted for *s* in the same positions as those in which the palatals retain their palatal pronunciation. [LSI p. 586]

*Nouns*: *Gender*. There are three genders, masculine, feminine and neuter. Male human beings including gods are masculine. Female human beings including godesses are feminine. All other nouns are neuter. In singular the feminine and neuter are the same. In the plural, masculine and feminine are the same. Adjectives do not change for gender.

*Numbers*. There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plural is formed by adding *-lu*. Thus, *gurramu*, 'a horse' ; *gurramu-lu*, 'horses'.

*Case*. The noun is declined by adding various case suffixes. No suffixes are added in the nominative. Postpositions are added to the genitive. Ex. *lō*, 'in' ; *iṇṭi-lō*, 'in the house'. The word *yokka* is often added to the genitive without altering its meaning. [LSI p. 588]

*Pronouns*. The main forms of the personal pronouns are : *nēnu*, 'I' ; *mēmu* (exclusive), *manamu* (inclusive) 'we' ; *nīvu*, 'thou' ; *mīru*, 'you' ; *vā-ḍu*, 'he' ; *vā-ru*, 'they'.

Some of the other pronouns are *-yeva-ḍu*, 'who ?', adjectival pronouns, *ī*, 'this' ; *ā*, 'that' ; *yē*, 'which ?'. The adjectival pronouns are not declined.

There are no relative pronouns. Relative participles of verbs are used instead. [LSI p. 588]

*Verbs*. In the conjugation of the verbs the following personal terminations are added :

| *Singular* | *Plural* |
|---|---|
| 1. -nu | 1. -mu |
| 2. -vu | 2. -ru |
| 3. Mas. -ḍu | 3. Masc. and fem. -ru |
| 3. Fem. & Neut. pos. -di | 3. neut. pos. -vi |
| 3. Fem. & Neut. neg. -du | 3. neut. neg. -vu |

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There are three conjugations of the verbs. Roots of second conjugation end in *-yu*, of third in *-chu*.

Various tenses are formed by adding the personal terminations to the different participle forms. In the forms so formed the principle of harmonic sequence plays its part. Penultimate *u* of a polysyllabic root becomes *i* before *i*, *e* or *ē*, and may become *a* before *a*.

There are two auxiliary verbs *unnā* and *uṇḍu*. *Unnā* is only used in present and relative participles, in the past tense. Other forms are supplied by the verb *uṇḍu*, which has its present verbal participle *uṇṭu*.

The negative auxiliary and substantive verbs are *lē* and *kā*. Thus, *lē-nu*, 'I am not' ; *kā-nu*, 'I am not'.

With the exception of negative verbs, other verbal tenses and participles etc. have three conjugations. Roots of second conjugation end in *-yu* ; and of third *-chu*. Some of the forms of the three conjugations are given below :

| | *1st conjugation* | *2nd conjugation* | *3rd conjugation* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Root— | *koṭṭ-u* 'strike' | *chē-yu*, 'do' | *rakshintsu* 'save' |
| 1st verbal noun | *koṭṭ-u-ṭa* | *chē-yu-ṭa* | *rakshintsu-ṭa* |
| 2nd verbal noun | *koṭṭ-a-ḍamu* | *chē-yu-ḍama* | *rakshin-tsā-ḍamu* |
| Verbal participles— | | | |
| Present | *koṭṭ-u-tu* | *chēs-tu* | *rakshis-tu* |
| Past | *koṭṭ-i* | *chēs-i* | *rakshiñch-i* |
| Relative participles— | | | |
| Present | *koṭṭ-u-t-unna* | *chēs-t-unna* | *rakshis-t-unna* |
| Past | *koṭṭ-i-na* | *chēs-i-na* | *rakshiñch-i-na* |
| Positive verbs— | | | |
| Habitual present and future, 'I strike' or 'shall strike', etc. | *koṭṭuta-nu* etc. | *chēstā-nu* etc. | *rakshistā-nu* etc. |

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Past, 1st. 'I struck', etc. | *koṭṭinā-nu* etc. | *chēsinā-nu* etc. | *rakshiñchinā-nu*, etc. |
| Past, 2nd, 'I struck', etc. | *koṭṭiti-ni* | *chēsti-ni* | *rakshisti-ni* |

Negative verb has only one conjugation. Thus, habitual present, and future, *koṭṭa-nu*, 'I do not strike'.

Passive is formed by conjugating the root *paḍu*, 'fall' with the infinitive. The initial *p* of *paḍu* becomes *-b*. Thus, *raksiñ-tsa-baḍuta*, 'to be saved'. [LSI p. 589]

## KĀMĀṬHĪ DIALECT

285 Telugu is spoken by the Kāmāṭhīs or bricklayers of Bombay and neighbourhood. It has been influenced by the neighbouring Aryan forms of speech, but is still a pure Dravidian dialect.

*Pronunciation.* The vowels are mainly the same as in ordinary Telugu. The palatals are pronounced as in ordinary Telugu. *ch*, however, often becomes *s*; thus, *sastā*, standard Telugu, *tsastānu*, 'I die'.

The cerebral *ḍ* is interchangeable with *r*; thus, *iddaru*; 'two'; *mūḍu* and *mūru*, 'three', etc. *n* and *l* are sometimes interchanged; thus, *lillu*, standard *nillu*, 'water'.

*Nouns.* The inflexion of nouns is mainly regular. The pronominal suffix *-dī* has a tendency to become the usual suffix of the genitive. Cf. *dēvaru-dī aparādhī* 'a sinner against God'. Telugu accusative case has been replaced by the dative obviously under the influence of Aryan idiom. Thus, *nā-ku untsu*, 'let me be'.

*Verbs.* With regard to the conjugation of verbs we may note that the personal terminations of the first and third persons singular are often dropped, as is also the case in most other forms of vulgar Telugu. Thus, *nēnupōtā*, 'I go'; *ayā*, 'he became'.

It is of interest to note that this dialect has adopted the relative construction of the neighbouring Aryan tongues, the interrogative pronouns being used as relatives. Thus, *yēmi jindagi astadi adi iyānā*, 'what property will-come, that you-should-give'. [LSI p. 596]

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## BRĀHŪĪ

286 The bulk of the speakers of Brāhūī are found in the Sarawan and Jhalawan Provinces of Baluchistan. Brāhūī speakers are also found in Sind Province.

The language has no written literature. [LSI pp. 619-621]

*Pronunciation.* The vowels which Brāhūī possesses are : *a*, *ā*, *i*, *ī*, *e*, *ē*, *o*, *ō*, *u*, *ū*.

A final consonant is often followed by a short vowel sound, as is also the case in other Dravidian languages. The short vowel is usually written *e*, but sometimes also *u*. Thus, *nan* and *nane*, 'we' ; *num* and *nume*, 'you'. Similarly, we also find a short vowel usually *i* or *e*, inserted between concurrent consonants. Thus, *ōfk* and *ōfik*, 'they'.

The gutturals, palatals, cerebrals, and dentals are the same as in Hindustani. Brāhūī makes an extensive use of aspirated consonants, just as is the case in Kurukh and other Dravidian languages.

The dialect possesses a hard dental *s*, a soft *z*, and a hard palatal *sh*. The *h* is very faintly sounded and often dropped. Thus, *ant* and *hanṭ*, 'what ?'. It also possesses the sounds *kh*, *gh*, and *f*. *gh* is very common, both in borrowed and in indigenous words. Thus, *bandagh*. 'a man' ; *iragh*, 'bread'. *f* does not occur in the principal Dravidian languages, and it is usually difficult to see which sound corresponds to a Brāhūī *f* in other connected forms of speech. [LSI pp. 621-622]

*Articles.* There are no articles. The numeral *asi*, abbreviated form *as*, is, however, often used as an indefinite article. [LSI p. 622]

*Nouns : Gender.* Nouns do not differ for gender. Brāhūī has, accordingly, given up the common Dravidian distinction between rational and irrational nouns. This state of affairs is certainly due to the Eranian influence. When it is necessary to distinguish the natural gender the Persian word *nar*, 'man', and *madah*, 'mother', are prefixed.

*Number.* There are two numbers, the singular and the plural. The plural is occasionally left unmarked. This is

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also the case in other Dravidian languages, and in Kurukh and Malto it is the rule with neuter nouns. The usual plural suffix is *-ak* or, after long vowels *-k* ; thus, *khaf-ak* ; 'ears' ; *dū-k*, 'hands'.

*Case.* There is no separate oblique base in the singular. Brāhūī in this respect agrees with Kurukh. The dative and the accusative have the same form, as is also the case in some dialects of Tamil. The usual suffix is *-e*, or, in Karachi *-in* ; thus, *ōft-e* or *ōft-in*, 'to them'. Cf. Tamil *ei* ; Gōṇḍī *un*.

The usual suffixes of other cases are, instrumental *-aṭ* ; ablative *-ān* ; genitive *-nā*, plural *-ā* ; locative *-āe* and *-ṭī*.
[LSI pp. 622-623]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives do not change for gender, number or case. They precede the noun they qualify. They are often formed with the suffix *-angā* or *aghā* ; thus, *pīrangā*, 'old', from *pīr*, 'an old man'.

Comparison is effected in the usual way by putting the noun with which comparison is made in the ablative. [LSI p. 623]

*Numerals.* The first three numerals are distinctly Dravidian, and the higher ones are Aryan loan words. [LSI p. 623]

*Pronouns.* The main forms of the personal pronouns are : *i*, 'I' ; *nan*, 'we' ; *nī*, 'thou' ; *num*, 'you' ; *tēn (aṭ)* 'self' ; *ōfk*, 'they'.

*Ō*, 'that' ; *ē*, 'that' ; *dā*, 'this', when used as adjectives and *ant*, 'what ?', *arā*, 'what ?', are not inflected.

The Eranian *ham*, 'even, just', is often prefixed to demonstrative pronouns, and it often does not add anything to the meaning. Thus, *ham-ō*, 'just he, he'.

Relative clauses are effected as in Bālōchī. The Bālōchī relative particle *ki* has been introduced into the language and it is used in exactly the same way as in Balōchī and Persian.
[LSI pp. 623-624, 628]

*Verbs.* The verbal noun ends in *-ing* and is regularly inflected. Thus, *nī hining-ṭī us*, 'thou going-in art, thou art going'.

A conjunctive present is formed by adding *-i* or *-e* to the base. Thus, *khaniv* or *khanev*, 'I may see'. This form denotes the action of the verb without restriction as to time. It thus

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corresponds to the so-called indefinite tense of other Dravidian languages.

The ordinary present is derived from the conjunctive present in a way peculiar to Brāhūī. A *-k* is added in the third person singular ; the second person plural remains unchanged, and an *-a* is added in the remaining forms. Thus, *k̲hanik*, 'he sees' ; *k̲haniva*, 'I see' ; *k̲hanisa*, 'thou seest'.

The future is formed from the base by adding *ō*. Cf. Kurukh *o*. A vowel is dropped before this *ō*. Thus, *k̲hanōṭ*, 'I shall see'. This form seems to be derived from a future participle ending in *ō* by adding the present tense of the verb substantive.

The base of the past tense is formed in various ways. Most commonly an *a* or *ē* is added to the base. Thus, *taming*, 'to fall' ; past base *tamā*. Another suffix of the past is *-k* ; thus, *k̲haling*, 'to strike', past base *k̲halk*. The ordinary past tense is apparently formed by adding the present tense of the verb substantive to the past base. Thus, *k̲halk-uṭ* ; '1 strike'; *k̲halkun*, 'we struck.'

Brāhūī possesses negative conjugation comprising all the tenses. A similar state of affairs is also found in Kīlāmī, Naiki, Kuī, and other dialects. In Dravidian languages usually the personal terminations are added to the negative base, but, in Brāhūī a negative verb is apparently added to the positive base and conjugated throughout. There are two such negative verbs in Brāhūī, one used in the imperative, the conjunctive present, the future, and the tenses formed from them, and the other used in the past tenses. The former begins with *p* before which a final *r* and *gh* are dropped. After vowels it often becomes *f*. Thus, *ka-pa*, 'do not do' ; *ba-f*, 'he may not come'. The other negative verb begins with *t*, before which the base is changed in various ways.

Brāhūī also possesses a passive voice. It is formed from a base which is identical with the verbal noun. Thus, *k̲haning-iv*, 'I may be seen'. The conjugation is regular. [LSI pp. 624-627]

*Brāhūī as a Dravidian language.* From the above it is clear that Brāhūī is a distinctly Dravidian language. It seems to have more points of analogy wih Kurukh and Malto than with other Eranian forms of speech. The greatest influence can be traced in vocabulary, which to a great extent differs from that of other Dravidian languages. [LSI p. 627]

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## 287 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES

| *English* | *Tamil (Poona)* | *Malayāḷam* | *Kanarese (Belgaum)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| one | ondru, oru, or | oru | ondu (n.) obba (masc. & fem.) |
| two | iraṇḍu, iru, īr | frandu | eradu (n.), ibbaru (masc. & fem.) |
| three | mūndru, mū, mu | munnu | mūru (n.), mūvaru (masc. & fem ) |
| four | nālu, or nāṉgu, nāl | nalu | nālku (n.), nālvaru (masc. & fem.) |
| hand | kei | avarudu | avara |
| foot | pādam | kai | kei |
| head | talei | tala | tale |
| a father | oru tagappaṉār | achchhan | obba tandeyu |
| of a father | oru tagappaṉā-ruḍeiya | achchhare | obba tandeya |
| to a father | oru tagappaṉā-rukku | achchhannu | obba tendege |
| two fathers | iraṇḍu tagap-paṉārgaḷ | raṇḍu ach-chhan-mār | ibbaru tandegaḷu |
| I am | nāṉ irukkiṟēn | ñān agunnu | nānu iddēne |
| thou art | ni irukkiṟāy | nī āgunnu | ninu iddi |
| he is | avaṉ irvukkiṟāṉ | avan āgunnu | avanu iddāne |
| we are | nāṅgaḷ iruk-kiṟōm | ñaṅṅaḷ āgunnu | nāvu iddēve |
| you are | nīṅgaḷ irakkiṟīrgaḷ | niṅṅal āgunnu | nivu iddīri |
| they are | avargaḷ irak-kirārgaḷ | avar āgunnu | avaru iddāre |
| I was | nāṉ irundēṉ | ñānāyi, or āyirunnu (and so throughout) | nānu iddenu |
| thou wast | nī irundāy | ni āyi | ninu iddi |
| he was | avaṉ irundāṉ | avan āyi | avanu iddanu |
| we were | nāṅgaḷ irundōm | nannaḷ āyi | nāvu iddevu |

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## IN THE LANGUAGES OF THE DRAVIDIAN FAMILY

| *Gōṇḍī (Mandla)* | *Telugu* | *Brahūī* |
|---|---|---|
| uṇḍi | okaṭi | asiṭ |
| raṇḍ | reṇḍu | iraṭ |
| mūṇḍ | mūḍu | musiṭ |
| nālūṅg | nālugu | chār |
| kai | cheyyi | dū |
| kal | kālu, pādam | nat |
| talla | tala | kāṭum |
| dādāl | taṇḍri | bāvah |
| dādānā | taṇḍri | bāvah-nā |
| dādān | taṇḍri-ki | bāva-e |
| raṇḍ dādālōr | iddaru taṇḍru-lu | irā bāvah |
| nannā āndōnā | nēnu unnānu | iaṛēṭ, ~ uṭ |
| immā āndōnī | nīvū unnāvu | nī arēs, ~ us |
| ōr āndōr | vāḍu unnāḍu | ō arē, ~ ē |
| mammaṭ āndōm | mēmu unnāmu | nan arēn, ~ un |
| immāṛ āndīṛ | miru unnāru | num arē rē |
| ōrk āndurk | vāru unnāru, avi unnavi | ōfk arēr |
| nannā mattōna | nēnnu uṇṭini | ī assuṭ |
| immā mattōnī | nīvu uṇṭivi | ni assus |
| ōr mattōr | vāḍu uṇḍenu | ō as |
| mammāṭ mattōram | mēmu uṇṭimi | nan assun |



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| *English* | *Tamil (Poona)* | *Malayaḷam* | *Kanarese (Belgaum)* |
|---|---|---|---|
| you were | nīṅgaḷ irundīr-gaḷ | niṅṅaḷ āyi | nivu iddiri |
| they were | avargaḷ irundāygaḷ | avar āyi | avaru iddaru |
| I shall be | nāṉ iruppēṉ | ñān āgum | nānu āguvenu |
| I beat | nāṉ aḍikkiṟēṉ | ñān aḍikkunnu | nānu hoḍeyuttene |
| thou beatest | nī aḍikkiṟāy | nī aḍikkunnu | ninu hoḍeyuttī |
| he beats | avan aḍikkiṟāṉ | avan aḍikkunnu | avanu hoḍeyuttāne |
| we beat | nāṅgaḷ aḍikkiṟōm | ñaññaḷ adik-kunnu | nāvu hoḍeyuttēve |
| you beat | nīṅgaḷ adikkiṟigaḷ | niṅṅaḷ aḍikunnu | nivu hoḍeyuttīri |
| they beat | avargaḷ aḍik-kiṟārgaḷ | avar aḍikkunnu | avaru hoḍeyuttāre |
| I beat (past) | naṉ aḍitteṉ | ñān aḍichchu | nānu hodedenu |
| thou beatest (past) | ni aḍittay | nī aḍichchu | nīnu hoḍedi |
| he beat (past) | avaṉ aḍittaṉ | avan aḍichchu | avanu hoḍedanu |
| we beat (past) | nāṅgaḷ aḍittōm | ñaṅṅaḷ aḍichchu | nāvu hoḍedevu |
| you beat (past) | nīngaḷ aḍittirgaḷ | niṅṅaḷ aḍichchu | nīvu hoḍediri |
| they beat (past) | avangaḷ aḍittārgaḷ | avar aḍichchu | avaru hoḍedaru |
| I shall beat | nāṉ aḍippēṉ | ñān aḍikkum | mānu hoḍeyuvenu |

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| *Gōṇḍī (Mandla)* | *Telugu* | *Brahuī* |
|---|---|---|
| immāṛ mattōrīṭ | mīru uṇṭiri | num assurē |
| ōrk mattōrk | vāru uṇḍiri, ~ uṇḍenu | ōfk assur |
| nannā ayikā | nēnu uṇṭānu | imarōṭ |
| nannā jiyēnā | nēnu koṭṭutānu | ī k̲haliva |
| immā jiyēnī | nīva koṭṭutāvu | ni k̲halesa |
| ōr jiyēr | vāḍu koṭṭutāḍu | o k̲halek |
| mammāṭ jiyēram | mēmu koṭṭutāmu | nan k̲halena |
| immāṛ jiyērīṭ | mīru koṭṭuttutāru | nun k̲halerē |
| ōrk jiyērk | vāru koṭṭutāru | ōfk k̲halera |
| (nannā jitān) | nēnu koṭṭinānu, ~ koṭṭitini | ī k̲halkuṭ |
| (immā jītī) | niru koṭṭināvu ~ koṭṭitivi | nī k̲halkus |
| (ōr jītur) | vāḍu koṭṭināḍu ~ koṭṭenu | ō k̲halk |
| (mammāṭ jitōm) | mēmu koṭṭinamu ~ koṭṭitimi | nan k̲halkun |
| (immāṭ jītīṛ) | mīru koṭṭināru ~ koṭṭitiri | num k̲halkurē |
| (ōrk jīturk) | vāru koṭṭināru ~ koṭṭiri | ōfk k̲halkur |
| nannā jiyākā | nēnu koṭṭutānu | ī k̲halōṭ |

[LSI pp. 646-681]

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## NOTE

[ For the Summary of Vols. V-IX of Grierson's L.S.I., see the Second Volume of the present publication. ]

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# VOL. X

## ERANIAN FAMILY

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# THE ERANIAN FAMILY

## INTRODUCTION

288 The Aryans divided themselves into two groups in the high-lying country of Khok and Badakhshan—one group filtered into India, the other, the Eranian group spread east-ward and west-ward. The Sarikol country in the Taghdumbash Pamir may be taken as the eastern limit of the Eranian family. Those who migrated west-wards spread over wholer of Persia and over what are now Afghanistan and Baluchistan. In the latter tracts, the eastern limits of Eranian speech may now be looked upon as roughly coinciding with Indus River, though here and there it has over stepped that boundary.

The Eranian and the Indo-Aryan branches of the Aryan language each developed on its own line. In the earliest stages of their separate growth they were very similar, but as the time went on, the two became apart. The following is the list of the common characteristics of all Eranian languages, which distinguish them from Sanskrit :

1. Sanskrit *s* is represented by an Eranian *h*.
2. Sanskrit sonant aspirates *gh*, *dh*, *bh* are not aspirated in Eranian.
3. A Sanskrit *k*, *t*, or *p* preceding a consonant is represented in Eranian by the corresponding spirant *x̲*, *þ̲*, *f*.
4. In certain cases, a Sanskrit *h* is represented by an Avestan *z*, as in Skr. *bahu-*, Av. *bazu-*, 'the arm'.

Eranian languages may be divided into two groups, — 'Persic' and 'Non-Persic'. From the former is descended, through the Pahlavī of the time, the modern Persian language. The Non-Persic dialects, often classed together under the term Medic, are spoken in widely separated parts of Iran. In course of time, the Medic



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dialects developed into independent languages, some of which, viz., the Ghalchah languages of the Pamirs, Paṣhto Ōrmuṛī, and Balōchī are described in the following pages. To them may be added, as falling outside the limits of the present enquiry, a number of dialects, - the best known is Kurdish, - spoken nearly all our Persia and beyond, distinct from, and independent of, the literary Persian. Besides, the languages mentioned above, supplementary accounts of two other Persic dialects, viz. Dēhwārī and Badakhshī have also been given in the following pages. [LSI pp. 1-4]

## PAṢHTŌ

**289** Paṣhtō is the language of Afghāns. The name Afghān, which is that given to them by the Persians, is not used by the people, who call themselves *Paṣhtūn*, or, in plural *Paṣhtāna*, who call their language *Paṣhtō* written in English as *Paṣhtō*.

Paṣhtō is the language of the greater part of Afghanistan. It is also spoken in the districts of Peshawar, Hazara, Bannu, Kohat, and Dera Ismail Khan, and in the region between them and the Afghan frontier. It is also the language of the Yūsufzai country situated to the north of the districts mentioned above, and including the countries of Swat, Buner, and Bajaur. [LSI pp. 5-6]

*Dialects.* Over the whole area in which it is spoken, the language is essentially the same. Two main dialects, are, however, recognised, that of the north-east, and that of the south-west. They mainly differ in pronunciation. North-east *kh* and *g* stand for South-west *ṣh* and *ẓh*, respectively. North-east forms are employed by *Ghilzais* and the *Afrīdīs*, while that of the South-western by *Wazīrīs*. [LSI p. 7]

*Origin of the language.* In 1890 Darmesteter in his monumental 'Chants populaires des Afghans' proved conclusively that Paṣhtō must belong to the eastern group of the Eranian family, and that it is derived from Zend or from a dialect closely allied to Zend. Practically, it bears the same relation to Zend that modern Persian does to the old Persian preserved in the cuneiform inscriptions of Achæmenides. It has borrowed largely from North-Western India, but in its essence, it is an Eranian tongue. [LSI pp. 9-10]

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The following is the grammatical sketch of the language :

*Pronunciation.* The North-eastern Afg̲hāns pronounce *ṣẖ* as a hard *k̤h*, like the *ch* in *loch*. The particle *kṣẖē* (often written *kṣẖ*) is pronounced *ke* in the north-east. *Ẓẖ* is pronounced *g* in the north-east, like *g* in *go*. [LSI p. 19]

*Nouns.* There are two genders, masculine and feminine, and two numbers, singular and plural. Certain nouns do not change for plural. The rest add different terminations to form the plural.

Cases are formed by adding terminations to the oblique form. The oblique plural is usually formed by adding *ō* to the singular form ; thus, *bāṇa*, 'eye lash' ; obl. plur. *bāṇō*.

The accusative is the same as nominative. The agent is the same as oblique form. The genitive is formed by adding *-da* ; dative by adding *-ta*, *-wata*, *-lara*, *-la*, or *-wa-ta*, *wa-wata*, *wa-lara*, *wa-la* ; ablative by adding *-la*, *-la-(a) na* ; and locative by adding *pa*, *pa-kṣẖē*. [LSI p. 19]

*Pronouns.* The nominative forms of first two personal pronouns are ; *za*, 'I' ; *muẓẖ*, *muẓẖa* (south-west), *mūg̲*, *mūg̲a* north-east) 'we' ; *ta*, 'thou' ; *tāse*, *tāsū*, 'you'.

The demonstrative pronoun *hag̲ha* 'that', is also used as a pronoun of the third person. The other demonstrative pronoun is *dag̲ha*, 'this'.

The interrogative pronoun 'who ?' is *ts̲ōk* ; 'what ?' is *kōm* or *kam* (masc.) and *kōma* or *kama* (fem.). The relative pronoun is *chi*.

The following are the pronominal suffixes, which are added after the verbal forms :

| Singular | | Plural | |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. | *-am* | 1. | *-ū* |
| 2. | *-e* | 2. | *-aī* |
| 3. | *-ī* | 3. | *-i* [LSI p. 19] |



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*Verbs.* (1) Verbs whose infinitives end in *-al* may be either transitive or intransitive. Those in *-ēdal* are intransitive and *-wal*, transitive. Infinitives of causals end in *-a-wal*.

*Verb Substantive.* It is conjugated in present and past tenses as under :

*Present*, 'I am', etc.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *yam* | *yū* |
| 2. | *yē* | *yaī* or *vāstaī* |
| 3. | *dai* or *shta* (masc.)<br>*da* or *shta* (fem.) | *dī* or *shta* |

*Past*, 'I was', etc.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *wum* | *wū* |
| 2. | *wē* | *waī* |
| 3. | *wu* (masc.) | *wiū* (masc.) |
| | *wa* (fem.) | *wē* (fem.) |

*The regular verb.* There are two main tenses, the imperfect and the present. There are 37 classes of verbs, 13 intransitive, 24 transitive. These differ according to the rules for the formation of the imperfect and present. Of intransitives 3 classes form the 3rd singular imperfect by changing final *l* of the infinitive to silent *h*. Thus, *pōhēdal, pōhēda.* Another three classes drop the final *al* of the infinitive. Thus, *kṣẖē-nastal, kṣẖē-nast.* The imperfects of the other classes are subject to special rules. The formation of the present of intransitive verbs differs in each class. As regards transitive verbs, the imperfect and all tenses derived from it, and from the past participle, are passive, and use the passive construction,—the direct object being in the nominative, and subject in the agentive case. The five of the classes form the 3rd sing, imperfect by changing *l* of the infinitive to silent *h*. Thus, *ārwēdal, ārwēda.* Similarly five of the classes with lengthening of the root-vowel. Thus, *taṛal, tāṛa.* The six of the classes drop the final *al* of the infinitive. Thus, *g̱hōṣẖtal, g̱hōṣẖt.* The

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imperfects of the other classes are subject to special rules. In nearly all verbs, the 3rd plural masc. imperfect is the same as the infinitive. As regards the formation of the present of transitive verbs eight classes simply drop the *l* of the infinitive, and affix the personal terminations. For each of the other classes there are special rules.

*Formation of tenses.* Present participle has six forms, which are as follows :

| | *Infinitive* | *Present participle* | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | | masc. | fem. |
| 1. | *zg̲hāstal*, 'to run' | *zg̲hāstana* | *-ana* |
| 2. | *wulal*, 'to wash' | *wula* | *wula* |
| 3. | *watal*, 'to come out' | *wāta* | *wāta* |
| 4. | *taṛal*, 'to bind' | *taṛūn* | *taṛūna* |
| 5. | *ḍakēdal*, 'to fill' | *ḍakūn* | *ḍakūna* |
| 6. | *mātawal*, 'to break' | *maṭāūn* | *mātaūna* |

*Intransitive verbs.* The present tense is conjugated as under :

'I run', etc.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *zg̲h alam* | *zg̲halū* |
| 2. | *zghalē* | *zg̲halaī* |
| 3. | *zghalī* | *zg̲halī* |

The present subjunctive prefixes optionally *wu* to the present ; thus, (*wu*) *zg̲halam*, 'I may run', and so on.

The future tense prefixes *ba-* to the present subjunctive. When a personal pronoun is used, *ba-* precedes the *wu-*. Otherwise *wu-* precedes *ba-*. Thus, (*wu*) *ba zg̲halam* or *za ba* (*wu*) *zg̲halam*, 'I shall run', etc.

The imperfect of the verb *zg̲halēdal*, 'to run' is conjugated as under :

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| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *zg̲halēdam* | *zg̲halēdū* |
| 2. | *zg̲halēdē* | *zg̲halēdaī* |
| 3. | masc. *zg̲halēda* | *zg̲halēd$^{a}$l* or *zg̲halēd$^{a}$* |
| | fem. *zg̲halēda* or *zg̲halēdala* | *zg̲halēdē* or *zg̲halēdalē* |

The past tense is formed by prefixing optionally *wu-* to the imperfect form ; thus, (*wu*) *zg̲halēdam*, 'I ran', etc.

*Transitive verbs.* The present tense forms of the verb *ak̲hist$^{a}$l*, 'to seize' would be, sing. *āk̲hlam*, *-ē*, *-ī* ; plur. *āk̲hlū*, *-aī*, *-ī*.

The present subjunctive forms would be (*wu ākhlam* (contracted to *wākhlam*), 'I may seize', etc.

The future tense forms would be (*wu*) *ba-āk̲hlam* or *za ba* (*wu*) *āk̲hlam* (*wāk̲hlam*), etc.

Tenses based on the imperfect and on the past participles are all passive. The verb agrees with the object in gender and number, and the subject is put in the case of the agent.

*Passive voice.* This is formed by conjugating the past participle (which agrees with the subject in gender and number) with the auxiliary verb *shw$^{a}$l*, 'to be'. Thus, *āk̲histalai sh̲ī*, 'he is seized' ; *āk̲histale shī*, 'she is seized' ; *āk̲histalai sh$^{a}$*, 'he was seized' ; *āk̲histale sh̲wa* or *sh̲wala*, 'she was seized'. [LSI pp. 20-22]

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| *English* | *Pakḥtō* (of Peshawar) | *Wazīrī* (Waziristan) | *Paṣḥtō* (Pishin and Kandhar) |
|---|---|---|---|
| one | yan | yō(m.), yawa(f.) | yan |
| two | dwa | dwa (m.), dwē (f.) | dwa |
| three | drē | drē | drē |
| four | salōr | tsalör *or* tsalwär | tsalūr |
| hand | lās | lōs (m.) | lās |
| foot | *pkha*, pronounced *khpa* | pṣḥa (f.) | pṣḥa |
| head | sar | sar (m.) | sar, kōḍ |
| a father | plār | yō plōr | yau plār |
| of a father | daplār | da yawa plōr | da yawa plār |
| to a father | plār ta, plār la | wa yawa plōr ta | la yawa plāra |
| two fathers | dwa plarūna | dwa plārīna | dwa plāra |
| I am | $z^a$ $y^a$m | $z^a$ yã | dz a yam, yem |
| thou art | ta yē | ta yē | ta yē |
| he is | hagha | agha dai (she is, agha dō) | hagha dai |
| we are | mūg yū | mizh yī | mūzh yū |
| you are | tāsū yai | tōsē yēstai *or* yai | tāsē yāst |

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| *English* | *Pakḫtō* (of Peshawar) | *Wazīrī* (Waziristan) | *Paṣḫtō* (Pishin and Kandhar) |
|---|---|---|---|
| they are | hag̲ha dī | ag̲ha dī | hag̲ha dī |
| I was | $z^a$ wum | $z^a$ wã | d̲za wum |
| thou wast | $t^a$ wē | ta wē | ta wē |
| he was | hag̲ha wū | ag̲ha wã | hag̲ha wo, wō |
| we were | m$\tilde{\text{ū}}$g wū | mīz̲h wī | mūẓ̲h wū |
| you were | tāsū wai | tōsē wai | tāsē wāst |
| they were | hag̲ha wū | ag̲ha wī | hag̲hō wū, wō |
| I shall be | $z^a$ ba wus̲h$^a$m | $z^a$ wã | wo ba sam |
| I beat | $z^a$ wah$^a$m | $z^a$ waiyã | d̲za wahəm |
| thou beatest | $t^a$ wahē | ta waiyē | ta wahē |
| he beats | hag̲ha wahī | ag̲ha waiyī | hag̲ha watū |
| we beat | m$\tilde{\text{ū}}$g̲ wahū | miz̲h waiyī | mūẓ̲h wahū |
| you beat | tāsū wahaī | tōsē waiyui *or* waiyēstai | tāsē wahāst |
| they beat | hag̲h a wahī | ag̲ha waiyī | hag̲hō wahī |
| I beat (past) | mā wuwāha | mō wu-wōyã (masc. obj.) wu-wāhala (fem. obj.); or wu-mi wōyã *and* wu-mi-wāhala | mā wowāha |

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| *English* | *Pakhtō* (of Peshawar) | *Wazīrī* (Waziristan) | *Paṣhtō* (Pishin and Kandhar) |
|---|---|---|---|
| thou beatest (past) | tā wawāha | tō wu-wōyã̄ (masc. obj.), tō wu-wāh$^{a}$la (fem. obj.) ; *or* wu-mi wōyã̄ *and* wu-mi-wāh$^{a}$la | tā wowāha |
| he beat (past) | hag̲ha wuwāha | yag̲h (*or* aghã̄ or yag̲hī) *or* wu-wōyã̄ wu-yē-wōyã̄ (masc. obj.) ; wū-wāh$^{a}$la *or* wu-yē wāh$^{a}$la (fem. obj.) | hag̲ha wowāha |
| we beat (past) | mū̃g̲ wuwāha | mīz̲h wu-wōyã̄ (masc. obj.) wu wã̄h$^{a}$la (fem. obj.) | mūz̲h wowāha |
| you beat (past) | tāsū wuwāha | tōsē wu-wōyã̄ (masc. obj.) wu wāh$^{a}$la (fem. obj.) | tāsē wowāha |
| they beat (past) | haghō wuwāha | āghē (*or* yaghē) wu-wōyã̄ (masc. obj.) ; wu-wāh$^{a}$la (fem, obj.) | haghō wowāha |
| I shall beat | z$^{a}$ ba wuwah$^{a}$m | z$^{a}$ wu (object here) wu waiyã̄ | dza ba wowaham |

[LSI pp. 113-121]

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## ŌRMUṚĪ OR BARGISTĀ

**291** Ōrmuṛī is the language of the tribe known to its neighbours as Ōrmuṛ, but called by its neighbours as 'Barakī'. It is spoken by the members of this tribe in Kānīguram in Wazīristān, in Village Barak in Lōgar Valley. The language spoken in both the above localities is surrounded by Paṣhtō speaking population, yet it bears only the most distant relationship to that language. Paṣhtō is an East Eranian language and Ōrmuṛī is West Eranian language, and its nearest relatives are the dialects of Western Persia and Kurdish. It also contains manifest evidence of contact with the Dardic languages. [LSI pp. 123-125]

The following is the brief grammatical sketch of the language :

*Pronunciation.* Consonant peculiar to Ōrmuṛī is *ṣ̈k*. Its sound is reported to be a mixture of *kh*, *ṣ̌* and *r*. [LSI pp. 127-128]

*Article.* The definite article is *a* prefixed to the noun to which it refers. Thus, *saṛai*, 'a man' ; *a-saṛai*, 'the man'. There is no regular indefinite article, but the indefinite pronouns *kuk*, 'some one,, and *ts*$^{a}$, 'something', sometimes have this force. The numeral *sō* or *s*$^{a}$ (fem. *syī*) 'one', is also used in this sense. [LSI p. 129]

*Nouns* : *Gender.* There are two genders,—masculine and feminine. Animate beings generally follow their natural gender. When there is no distinction between the masculine and the feminine of nouns signifying living beings, then sex is distinguished by the use of the words *n*$^{a}$*r* to indicate the male, and *ṣ̌hadz*$^{a}$ to indicate the female. Thus, *n*$^{a}$*r hiṇs*, 'a male bear' ; *ṣ̌hadz*$^{a}$ *hiṇs*, 'a she-bear'. Most names of things without life are masculine. Prominent exceptions are *wak*, 'water' ; *nar*, 'a house' ; and *shipī* 'milk', which are feminine.

*Number.* There are two numbers, singular and plural.



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*Case.* Ōrmuṛī noun does not change for case. There is nothing corresponding to the oblique case of Paṣhtō or Balōchī. The only change undergone is that of number. The relations of case are indicated by the aid of postpositions used in conjunction with prepositions. The accusative and agentive cases are the same in form as the nominative. Instrumental is formed by the preposition *pa* ; genitive by the preposition *ta* and on-locative is formed by the preposition *i* or *kū*. In the locative *kū* is used before proper names of persons and before substantive pronouns indicating persons, and *i* before all other nouns substantive and before all pronouns. Thus, *i-Saṛai*, 'on a man'; *kū-* (or *ku*) *Abdullah*, 'on Abdullah'.

Other case relations are indicated by postpositions. Every postposition governs either the genitive or the locative case.

[LSI pp. 129-138]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives agree with the qualified noun in gender and number. They generally have special forms for the feminine singular and for the plural. The plural is always the same for both genders. Some adjectives do not change for number or gender.

The adjectives have no comparative or superlative degrees. Comparison is made as in Indo-Aryan languages with the help of the postposition *lāst*$^{a}$ or *lāst*$^{a}$ *dī*, meaning 'from'. Thus, *hō-dī-i-f*$^{a}$ *lāst*$^{a}$ *plan hā*, 'this is wider than that'. [LSI pp. 139-141]

*Pronouns.* The first two personal pronouns are *az* or *haz*, 'I'; *mākh*, 'we'; *tū*, 'thou'; *tyūs* or *tyūz*, 'ye'. When ever *az* is governed by a preposition it is changed to *mun* in the singular. It does not change in the plural nor does *tū* changes in either number.

For the pronoun of the third person, the demonstrative pronoun *hafō*, *afō*, *haf*$^{a}$, or *af*$^{a}$ is used to mean 'he, she', or 'it'. The plural is *hafaī* or *afaī*. When governed by a preposition, this pronoun drops the initial *ha* or *a* as in *paf*$^{a}$, 'by him by her'.

Ōrmuṛī employs pronominal suffixes as freely as Paṣhtō There are four sets, which are used as follows :



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(a) Those used to indicate the subject of an intransitive verb in a tense formed from the past participle. They are by origin suffixes of the nominative. They are as follow :

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *-am* or (after a vowel) *m* | *yēn* |
| 2. | *a* or *ē* | *aī* |
| 3. | — | *in* or *ēn* |

The same suffixes are also used to indicate the object of a transitive verb in a tense formed from the past participle.

(b) The suffixes used to indicate the object of a transitive verb in a tense not formed from the past participle. These on the other hand, represent an original accusative. They are as follows :

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *am* or (after a vowel) *m* | *an* or (after a vowel) *n* |
| 2. | *at* or (after a vowel) *t* | same |
| 3. | *wa* or (after a consonant) *a* | *wa* or (after a consonant) *a* |

(c) The suffixes used to indicate the subject of a transitive verb in a tense formed from the past participle are the same, as in (b) above, except that of third person plural, is *an* or (after a vowel) *n*.

These suffixes are also used to indicate the genitive case. These are added to nouns substantive, not to verbs.

The reflexive pronoun is *khwai*, 'own', equivalent to Hindī *apnā*. The relative pronoun is *ka*, 'who, which, what'. It does not change for gender, number, or case. The interrogative pronouns are *kuk*, 'who ?' and *ts*$^{a}$, 'what ?'. The interrogative pronouns are also used as indefinite pronouns. The only difference is the inflexion of the voice with which they are uttered. Thus, *kuk aī byōk*, 'there was some one', *ts*$^{a}$ *byōk*, 'there was something'. [LSI pp. 143-151]

*Verbs.* In the general system of tense of formation, the Ormuṛī verb closely agrees with that of Paṣhtō. Each verb has

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two stems,—a past and a present. The past stem is the past participle, which is usually the same in form as the infinitive

The infinitive always ends in *k*. It is also used as a verbal noun. Thus, *khwalak* 'to eat', or 'the act of eating'. The majority of the infinitives end in *yēk*, which is added to the root direct. Thus, *ka-yēk*, 'to do, to make.'

There is no present participle but some of the functions of the present participle are performed by the noun of agency, which is formed by adding *-wunkai*. Except in the case of verbs, the masculine singular of the past participle is the same in form as the infinitive. The plural of past participle is of common gender, and is always the same as the feminine singular. Thus, the feminine of *khwalak*, is *khwālk*, and this also is the masculine and feminine plural. The formation of the feminine of a past participle depends on the conjugation to which the verb belongs.

*Verbs substantive and auxiliary verbs.* The verb substantive is used as an auxiliary and also as a copula (as in 'Zaid is sick'). If it is used to postulate existence, as in 'Zaid is (i.e. exists)', then certain pronominal suffixes must be added to the subject. It is conjugated as follows in the present tense. It does not change for gender.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *az hᵃm* | *mākh hyēn* |
| 2. | *tū hai* | *tyūs haī* |
| 3. | *hafō hā* or *hafo ha* | *hafaī hin* |

This verb has no past tense. For 'I was', etc. the past tense of *byōk*, 'to be, to become', is employed. It is conjugated in past and aorist tenses as under :

*Past*, 'I was, I became', etc.

| | Singular | | Plural |
|---|---|---|---|
| | masc. | fem. | masc. and fem. |
| 1. | *az byok-am* | *az buk-am* | *mākh buk-yēn* |
| 2. | *tū byōk-a*, or *byōk-ē* | *tū buk-a* | *tyūs buk-aī* |
| 3. | *hafō byōk* | *hafᵃ buk* | *hafaī buk-in*, or *buk-ēn* |

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*Aorist*, 'I may be, I may become,' etc.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *az bᵃm* | *mākh byēn* |
| 2. | *tū bī* | *tyūs baī* |
| 3. | *hafō*, or *hafᵃ*, *ba* | *hafaī bin* |

This tense does not change for gender, and the endings are real terminations, not pronominal suffixes.

The conjugation of the tenses formed from the past participle differs according to weather the verb is transitive or intransitive. In the case of intransitive verbs, the verb in these tenses agrees with the subject in gender, number, and person.

The past participle is used for the past tense. The persons are formed by the addition of the pronominal suffixes. These indicate the subject of an intransitive verb and the object of a transitive verb. Thus, we have *wustᵛēk-am*, 'I arose' ; *khwalakam*, 'ate me'. In the second example the subject is not mentioned. If it is intended to indicate the subject, another pronominal suffix, of category (c) mentioned under pronouns in inserted between the participle and the suffix indicating the object. Thus, we have *khwalak-am-am*, 'I ate.'

When the subject and the object are both already mentioned in the sentence, then it is not necessary to repeat them by adding suffixes to the verb or elsewhere.

The imperfect is formed by adding the particle *bū* to the past. The *bū* sometimes precedes, and sometimes follows the verb. When *bū* follows the verb, the pronominal suffixes are added to it, after dropping the *ū* ; thus, *wustᵛēk bam*, 'I was arising'.

Four tenses are formed from the present stem,—the aorist, the present, the future and the imperative. The present and the future are the same as the aorist, except that they add to it, respectively, the particles *bū* and *sū*. The imperative, in its forms, agrees closely with the aorist.

The aorist is by origin an old present, and is, in fact, sometimes used in that sense. Thus, *aqlaī nąk dērī*, 'thou hast no

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sense'. Generally, however, it has the force of a present subjunctive, thus following the example of Hindī.

The aorist presents many irregularities in its formation and conjugation. It has two main types, in which the third person singular ends the *ī* or *a*, respectively. The following are the examples of typical conjugation :

(1) *ī*-type, verb *ghafᵘēk*, 'to weave'.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *ghafᵃ-m* | *ghaf-yēn* |
| 2. | *ghēfī* | *ghaf-aī* |
| 3. | *ghafī* | *ghaf-in* |

(2) *a*-type, verb *amarᵘēk*, 'to hear'.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *amarᵃ-m* | *amar-yēn* |
| 2. | *amār* | *amar-aī* |
| 3. | *amara* | *amar-in* |

The two important forms are the third person singular and the second person singular. The formation of each is subject to special rules. The first person singular and all the persons of the plural are formed by rejecting the final *ī* or *a* of the third person singular and adding the appropriate personal termination indicated above. [LSI pp. 153-179]

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## 292 STANDARD LIST OF SELECT WORDS AND SENTENCES IN ŌRMUṚĪ

| *English* | *Ōrmuṛī* |
|---|---|
| one | sō, s$^{a}$ |
| two | dyō |
| three | ṣḥē |
| four | tsār |
| hand | dish, dis |
| foot | pāṛī |
| head | sar |
| a father | piē |
| of a father | ta-piē |
| to a father | i-piē kī |
| two fathers | dyō piē |
| I am | az h$^{a}$m (I exist) az-a h$^{a}$m |
| thou art | tū hai, (thou existed) tu-wa hai |
| he is | afō hā, (he exists) afō-wa hā |
| we are | mākh hyēn, (we exist) mākh-a hyēn |
| you are | tyūs haī, (you exist) tyūs-a haī |
| they are | afaī him, (they exist) hafaī-wa hin |
| I was | az byōk-am, (I existed) az-a byōk-am (and so on) |
| thou wast | tū byōk -a or byōk -ē |
| he was | afō byōk |
| we were | mākh buk-yēn |
| you were | tyūs buk-aī |
| they were | afaī buk-in |
| I shall be | az sū b$^{a}$m |
| I beat | az bū dzan$^{a}$m |
| thou beatest | tū bū dzan |
| he beats | afō bū dzana |
| we beat | mākh bū dzanyēn |

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| *English* | *Ōrmuṛī* |
|---|---|
| you beat | tyūs bū dzanaī |
| they beat | afaī bū bzanin |
| I beat (past) | az bzōk |
| thou beatest (past) | tu bzōk |
| he beat (past) | afō dzōk |
| we beat (past) | mākh dzōk |
| you beat (past) | tyūs dzōk |
| they beat (past) | afaī dzōk |
| I shall beat | az sū dzan$^{a}$m |

[LSI pp. 247-251]

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# BALŌCHĪ

293 The word 'Balōchī' is an adjective meaning 'of or belonging to the Balōch nation', and is hence employed to indicate that nation's language. Refererces to Baloch people in Persian literature first show them as living in the neighbourhood of the Caspian Sea. Thence they migrated to Kamrān and latter to Makrān. During their progress through Makrān, the Balōches occupied the highlands of Kalāt, now held by the Brāhūīs. They appear to have been expelled by the latter, and this fact seems to have something to do with their descent into the plains of India. Since that time the Balōches have been divided into two bodies, separated by the Brahūī-speaking territory of Kalāt.

With the exceptions to be presently noted, Balōchī is the language of the whole of Baluchistan, British as well as Persian, In Persian Baluchistan it goes as far west as Cape Jask, where the Persian coast first commences to trend northwards towards the Gulf. On the east, Balōchī has overstepped the south-eastern boundary of Baluchistan into Sind and Bahawalpur, and, further north, it occupies the Sulaiman Hills on the western border of the Panjab District of Dera Ghazi Khan. The language of North-Eastern Baluchistan is Paṣhtō, but further west Balōchī is the language of Northern Baluchistan and extends northwards beyond the frontier nearly up to the River Helmand, where Paṣhtō is finally established. In the west the exact area in which Balōchī is the chief language is not known. In the heart of Balōchī area in Sarawan and Jahlawān divisions of Kalāt Dravidian Brāhūī is also spoken. [LSI pp. 327-329]

*Dialects.* The intrusive Brāhūī divides the Balōchī area into two distinct blocks,—a western and an eastern. Corresponding to this division, there are two main Balōchī dialects. These are Western Balōchī often called Makrānī and Eastern Balōchī. The two differ considerably, but are not mutually unintelligible. On the whole the western dialect has better preserved the earlier



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forms of the language. In a wild mountanious country such as Baluchistan there are numerous sub-dialects, a reference to a few of them, would be made in the following pages. [LSI p. 329]

*Relationship to other Eranian languages.* Balōchī resembles most other Eranian languages in showing a nearer relationship to the Avesta than the old Persian, the court language of the Achæmenides, from which Modern Persian is directly descended. In other words, it is a tribal form of speech which has developed on its own lines from the earliest times, and has been but slightly influenced by the Persian of literature. At the same time, it is more nearly related to Persian than are some of the other languages. [LSI p. 333]

*Pronunciation.* In Eastern Balōchī the surd voiceless consonants, when they are initial or when they follow another consonant in the middle or at the end of a word are pronounced with a forcible explosive utterance, not unlike but different from, their counterparts in Indo-Aryan languages ; thus, *p'anjāh*, 'fifty' ; *ṭ'ular*, 'coarse'. When the surd consonants (except *ṭ* and *ḍ*) occur intervocally or finally preceded by a vowel, they are changed to the corresponding spirant These changes do not regularly occur in the western dialect, e.g.,

| *Western dialect* | *Eastern dialect* |
|---|---|
| *wāja* | *wāzhā*, 'a master' |
| *ap* | *āf*, 'water' |
| *pād* | *p'āð*, 'a foot' |

East Balōchī has an aspirate *w'*. It seems to be a surd, corresponding to the sonant *w'*, as *f* does to *v*.

The dropping of final consonants is frequent in Balōchī. Thus, *sak*, (west), *sak'* (east), for *sakt*. (Persian *saxt*).

When a word ends in a long nasalised vowel, if a suffix beginning with a vowel is appended, the nasalisation becomes a full *n*. Thus, we have *gwashā*, 'I will say', but *gwashan-ī*, 'I will say to him'. [LSI pp. 336-340]



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*Article.* There is no definite article. One of the demonstrative pronouns is employed in its place, if it is desired to emphasize the definiteness of a noun.

As in Persian, the force of the indefinite article is given by the addition of a suffix *-ē*, the '*yē-e-waḥdat*'; thus, *mard*, 'man', *mardē*, 'a man'. [LSI p. 340]

*Nouns : Gender.* There is no distinction of grammatical gender in Balōchī. Males and females are distinguished either by the use of different words,—as in *gurānḍ*, 'a ram', *gaḍ*, 'a ewe',—or by the addition of words such as *nar*, 'male', and *mādag* (Eastern, *māδaγ*), 'female'.

*Number.* There are two numbers, singular and plural. Either the singular is used for the plural or *-ā̃* is added to the singular form to make the plural. Thus, *lōg* (*lōγ*), 'a house'; plur. *lōg* (*lōγ*) *lōgā̃* (*lōγā̃*).

*Case.* The genitive and the dative are formed by adding different suffixes. The accusative takes either the form of nominative or that of the dative. The latter form is most used when definiteness is indicated, or when it is required to distinguish a nearer object from one more remote.

The other case relations are indicated by prepositions and postpositions. A preposition governs a noun in the oblique case, as in *ash lōgā* (*ash lōγa*), 'from the house'; but a postposition governs a noun in the genitive case, as in *lōga sarā* (*lōγ sarā*), 'on the house'.

If a noun is made indefinite by the addition of the indefinite article *-ē*, 'a', the case terminations are added after the article. Thus, singular oblique *lōgēa* (*lōγēa*). [LSI pp. 340-342]

*Adjectives.* The principal adjectival suffixes are *-ī*, *-īg*, and *-ēn*. The vowels of the last two vary according to the final sound of the noun to which one or other may be added. The termination *-ī* occurs in both dialects, as in *bādshāhī*, 'royal', from *bādshāh*, 'a king'.

The termination *-ig* forms adjectives of possession and of relationship. It takes various forms. In the western dialect, it is most often *-aig*, as in *mard*, 'a man', *mardaig*, 'of or belonging

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to a man'. In the Eastern dialect it generally takes the form *-ēγ* or *-ēγā*, as in *dārēγ*, 'wooden' from *dār*.

When an adjective is used attributively, it generally precedes its noun, and then takes the suffix *-ẽ*, which, as usual in such cases, becomes *-en* before a vowel. Thus, *a* (eastern *ă*) *sharrẽ mard*, 'that good man'.

Adjectives do not otherwise change. They are immutable for gender, number, and case.

The comparative degree is formed by adding *-tir*, (Eastern *-t'ar* or *t'ir*), as in *sharr*, 'good', *sharrtir*, 'better'.

There is no proper superlative form. The comparative may be used as a superlative, or adverbs, such as *sakẽ* (Estern *sakīā*), 'very', may be used. [LSI pp. 342-343]

*Pronouns.* The nominative forms of the personal pronouns are ; *man* (Western), *mă*, *ma*, *mă* (Eastern); 'I' ; *amā*, *mā* (Western), *ma* (Eastern) 'we' ; *tau* (Western), *t'au*, *t'a*. *t'ŏ* (Eastern), 'thou' ; *shumā*, (Western), *shawā*, *shā* (Eastern), 'ye'. As in Ghalchah languages, these pronouns have two forms of the genitive. The first is the ordinary genitive, corresponding to 'my', 'thy', 'this' and so on. The other one is a genitive absolute corresponding to 'mine', 'thine', 'ours', 'yours', and so on. It is formed by adding the possessive suffix *-īg*, described under the head adjectives, to the simple genitive.

There is no pronoun of the third person, The demonstrative pronouns, *ē* (Western), *ēsh*, *ē*, *ī* (Eastern), 'this', and *ā* (Western), *ă*, *ăh* (Eastern) are used in its place.

The personal pronouns are often represented by pronominal suffixes. These are :

| | *Western dialect* | *Eastern dialect* |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *-ũ* | *-ă*, *ũ* |
| 2. | *-it* | — |
| 3. | *-ē* or *ī* (plur. *-ish*) | *-ī*, (plur. *ish*, *ă*) |

The forms of first and second persons are very rarely used, but of third person are quite common.

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These suffixes are added to nouns to indicate the genitive or the dative, but more frequently they are used with verbs. If the verb is transitive, and is in one of the tenses formed from the present base, they indicate the object, direct or remote, if that object is not mentioned elsewhere in the sentence. Thus, *man-a girān-ish* (for *girā̃-ish*), 'I will seize them'. If the verb is transitive, and is one of the tenses formed from the past participle, the suffix indicates the agent, i.e. the subject, if it is not expressed elsewhere in the sentence. Thus, *burtagantish*, 'they carried (it) off', lit. 'carried off by them'.

In both the dialects, the relative pronoun is the Persian *kī* (Eastern *k'ī*) which is not declined.

The interrogative pronouns are *kai* (Eastern *k'āī*), 'who ?' and *chī* (Eastern *ch'ī*), 'what ?' and others. Used as adjectives, these are indeclinable. Used substantively, these are declined.

[LSI pp. 343-348]

*Verbs. Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive.* The verb substantive is also used as an auxiliary verb. This is used enclitically, and is attached as a suffix to some other word in the sentence. It is conjugated as follows :

*Present*, 'I am', etc.

| | | *Western dialect* | *Eastern dialect* |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sing. | 1: | *ã̃*, *ĩ̃*, or *ũ̃* | *ã̃* |
| | 2. | *ē* | *ē* |
| | 3. | *int*, *in*, or *ĩ̃* | *ẽ̃* |
| Plur. | 1. | *in*, *ĩ̃*, *au*, or *ã̃* | *ũ̃* |
| | 2. | *it*, *ē* | *ēθ*, *ē* |
| | 3. | *ant*, *an*, *ã̃*, or *ā* | *ant'*, *an* or *ã̃* |

*Past*, 'I was', etc.

| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Sing. | 1. | *atã̃*, *atũ̃* | *aθã̃* |
| | 2. | *atē* | *aθē* |
| | 3. | *at* | *aθ*, *ēθ* |

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| | | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| Plur. | 1. | *atin, atĩ, atan,* or *atã* | *aθũ* |
| | 2. | *atit, atē* | *aθē* |
| | 3. | *atant, atan, atã* | *aθant', 'aθan* |

These are often attached to personal pronouns, as well as to others words. Thus, *man ã*, 'I am'.

The negative form of this verb is *neã* or *niã*, 'I am not', and so on.

Another form of the verb substantive meaning 'to be', 'to exist', and connected with Persian *hast*, is also used in the present and the past.

*Active verb.* As in other Eranian languages, the conjugation of the verb is founded upon two bases, a present and a past. The present base commonly called the 'root' is the same as the second person singular of the imperative, and may most easily be obtained by dropping the final *ag* (Eastern *aγ*) of the infinitive. Thus, from *kanag* (Eastern *k'anaγ*) 'to do', we get the present stem *kan-* (or *k'an-*).

The formation of the past base, or past participle is more varied. In the Western dialect many verbs form it by simply adding *-tag* to the present stem. Thus, from *prushag*, 'to break' (intrans.), we get the present base *prush-* and a past base *prush -tag*. In the Eastern dialect, the corresponding suffix in such cases is *-t'aγ* (after a vowel *-θaγ*), so that from *p'rushaγ*, 'to break', we get *p'rusht'aγ*.

There is only one conjugation of verbs. It should, nevertheless, be remembered that, in the case of transitive verbs, the past participle is passive in signification.

The present participle indicates repeated action, and is formed, in the Western dialect, by the addition of *-ān*, and in the Eastern dialect, by the addition of *āna*, to the present base. Thus, *kush-ān* (East, *k'ush-āna*), 'slaying repeatedly'.

In the east, another continuous present participle is formed from the past participle by changing the final *-a* of the short form of that participle to *-iyā* or *īγā*. Thus, the short form of the past participle of *k'ushaγ*, 'to slay', is *k'usht'a*, and from it we get

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*k'ushti'ɣa* or *k'usht'īɣa*, 'slaying, continuing to slay'. The difference between *k'ushāna* and *k'usht'īɣa* is that the former means slaying repeatedly (at intervals), while the latter indicates continuous slaying.

*Finite tenses.* The finite tenses of Balōchī verb fall into three groups :

A. Tenses formed from the present base ; (1) Imperative, (2) Present - Future.

B. Tenses formed from the past participle ; (3) Past, (4) Pluperfect, (5) Habitual Past, (6) Conditional.

C. Tenses formed from the oblique infinitive ; (7) Perfect Definite, and (8) Imperfect.

*Imperative.* The second person singular of the imperative is the same as the present base. The second person plural adds *-it* in the west, and *-ēθ* or *-ēθ* in the east. We thus get :

| | *Western dialect* | *Eastern dialect* |
|---|---|---|
| Sing. 2. | *kush* | *k'ush*, 'slay thou' |
| Plur. 2. | *kushit* | *k'ushēθ*, *k'ushēδ*, 'slay ye' |

The other persons are borrowed from the present-future. As in Persian, the syllable *bi* is usually prefixed to the imperative, subject to certain rules.

*Present-future.* This is the tense which is called by Aorist by some authors. It is derived from the ancient present and may be used as an indefinite present, as a future, or where we should use a present subjunctive. It is thus conjugated :

'I slay', 'I shall slay', 'I may slay', etc.

| | *Western dialect* | *Eastern dialect* |
|---|---|---|
| Sing. 1. | *kushã, kushī̃, kushū̃* | *k'ushã. k'ushū̃* |
| 2. | *kushē* | *k'ushē* |
| 3. | *kushīt, kushī* | *k'ushīθ. k'ushī* |
| Plur. 1. | *kushī̃, kushã, kushẽ* | *k'ushū̃* |
| 2. | *kushit* | *k'ushēθ, k'ushēδ, k'ush* |
| 3. | *kushant* | *k'ushant* |

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The forms of the first person singular in the west vary according to locality. As in the imperative this tense often takes prefixes.

*Past.* This tense is also used as a perfect.

In the west, for transitive verbs, the third person alone is used, in the singular or plural according to the number of the object, the subject being in the agentive case. The past participle, which is identical in form with the third person singular of the past tense ends in *-ag* (long form) or *-a* (short form). When used in the past tense, the final *a* of the short form may optionally be dropped, so that for the third person singular we get *kushtag*, *kusta*, or *kust*, the plural being *kustagant* or *kushtant*. The past tense of an intransitive verb is conjugated fully, the terminations of the present-future being added to the past participle, except in the third person singular, which takes no termination. Thus, we have, *man rasitagã* or *rasitã* (ĩ, ũ) 'I arrived', or 'I have arrived', and so on. The use of the form with or without the *g* depends mainly on locality.

In the east, the conjugation of the past tense differs somewhat from the foregoing. In the transitive verb, either the past participle alone is used, or else the tense is conjugated as if it were the past tense of an intransitive verb, the persons referring to the subject, although that is in the agentive case. When the participle is used alone, it is employed only in the singular, not, as in the west, in the singular or plural according to the number of the object. Of the two forms of the past participle, the short form, without ɣ' is always used when no termination is added, while either the long form, with the ɣ, or the short form, without it, may be used when terminations are added.

The oblique verbal noun, or oblique infinitive, ends in *-agā* (East, *-aɣā*), and this is combined with the verb substantive to form a present definite and an imperfect, exactly equivalent to the English 'I am a - slaying', 'I was a-slaying'. This is most clear in the Western dialect. In the Eastern, the forms are more contracted.

*Passive voice.* This is not often used, and the two dialects differ in their modes of expressing it.

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In the Western dialect, the infinitive, or verbal noun, is sometimes used with the verb *baiag*, 'to be', which is then conjugated throughout. Thus, *man kushag a-bã*, 'I shall be slain'. Or we may say *mawā kushit*, 'he will slay me', to express the same idea.

In the Eastern dialect, there are various ways of forming the passive. By one method, evidently borrowed from Lahndā, *īj* is added to the present base, as in *k'ushīj-* from *k'ush-*. This is treated as a new present base, from which we may form an infinitive and a present future tense. [LSI pp. 348-361]

## WESTERN BALŌCHĪ OF MAKRĀN

294 The following are the most noteworthy points in which Western Balōchī spoken at Makrān proper differs from the standard set by the grammars of Mockler and Pierce.

*Pronunciation.* A long final vowel is commonly nasalised. Thus, we have *amã*, for *amā*, 'we' ; *ĩ* for *ē* 'this'. When a word in the standard dialect ends in *i* or *ī*, here it often ends in *ē*. Thus we have *chē*, for *chī*, 'what ?'.

Following the Eastern Balōchī, we find occasional instances of initial surd consonants (*ch, k, t, ṭ*, or *p*) acquiring aspiration ; thus we have *ch'am*, 'an eye' ; *p'ad*, 'a foot'. The dialect also occasionally follows the Eastern dialect in changing a medical mute into the corresponding spirant. Thus, the word for father is *piθ*, *p'iθ*, or *pit*. 'Mother' is *māθ*, or *māt*.

*Nouns.* The genitive singular termination *-a* of the standard Balōchī is represented by *aī* or by *ē* here. Thus, *ã mulkaī tahā dō kālē kapta*, 'in that country a femine fell'. There is a vocative singular in *a*, as in *pisa*, 'O father !'.

*Pronouns.* As regards pronouns, *man*, is 'I', but if the oblique case, *manā*, is prefixed to *aī*, 'thou art'. the two coalesce into *māĩ*. The proximate demonstrative pronoun is *ĩ* and the remote demonstrative pronoun, and pronoun of the third person is *ā* or *ã*, and its agent case singular is also *ã*. The inanimate interrogative pronoun is *chē*, 'what ?'. When *aĩ* 'is', is added to it, it is shortened to *chi*.

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*Verbs.* The conjugation of the present tense of the verb substantive is as follows :

'I am', etc.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *ã, aũ, um* | *ã* |
| 2. | *aī* | *it* |
| 3. | *ĩ, ẽ, aĩ* | *ant* |

The only irregular forms in the past tense of the verb substantive are *atum*, 'I was', and *atai*, 'thou wast'. For the negative verb substantive we have *na-aũ* or *nayũ*, 'I am not (worthy)'.

In other verbs the conjugation does not materially differ from that of the standard Western dialect. The present-future and past tenses are conjugated as under :

'I strike', 'I shall strike', etc.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *janĩ* | *janã* |
| 2. | *janai* | *janit* |
| 3. | *jant* | *janant* |

'I struck', 'I have struck', etc.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *jatum* | *jatã* |
| 2. | *jatai* | *jatit* |
| 3. | *jata, jat* | *jatant* |

For the present definite we have *man-janaga-um*, 'I am striking', and *charēnaga-ẽ*, 'he is grazing'. [LSI pp. 376-379]



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## KASRĀNĪ BALŌCHĪ

295 The Kasrānī Balōches are of Rind descent, and form the most northernly of all the organised tribes. They occupy parts of the Sulaimān Mountains and the adjoining plains in Dera Ismail Khan and Dera Ghazi Khan districts.

These Kasrānīs have Paṣhtō speakers to their north and west, and Lahndā speakers to their east, and their own language is very corrupt. This is most especially the case with the dialect spoken in Dera Ismail Khan. From the following brief grammatical sketch it will be seen that while Paṣhtō has had little or no influence upon it, the influence of Lahndā in idiom, vocabulary and grammar is marked.

*Vocabulary.* The vocabulary is much mixed with words borrowed from Lahndā. Such are *ajjan* (Lahndā *ajjaṇ*), 'yet, still'; *chēta*, 'sense'; *labb'iō* (Lahndā *labbhaṇ*, 'to get'), 'having been got'; *milā* (Lahndā *miliā*), 'he was got'. [LSI p. 405]

*Pronunciation.* The pronunciation shows many peculiarities. Contraction is frequent. Thus, *a* is dropped in *bīθayã*, 'they became'. There is a regular change of *θ* to *ð*. Thus, we have *barāð*, for *brāθ*, 'a brother'. *Shuða*, for *shuθa*. There is a tendency to vocalise the semivowel *w* into *u*, as in *guaγðō*, for *gwãk' jaθō*, 'having called'. [LSI pp. 405-406]

*Article.* The numeral 'one', used for indefinite article, appears under the form *yā* and *yē*. In the latter case, the suffix *-ē* of the indefinite article appears to have been added.

*Nouns.* In the declension of nouns, the direct form, is often used in the place of the oblique form or in other words, the final *-ā* of the oblique form is often dropped. Thus, we have *bach'-rā*, 'to the son'. [LSI p. 406]

*Pronouns.* *mā* is 'I'. Its genitive singular is *maē*, 'of me, my', and also *māī t'au* is 'thou' and 'by thee', The genitive singular is *taē*, 'of thee, thy'. The proximate demonstrative pronoun is *ē*, 'this', sing. gen. *ishī*, obl. *ishiā*. The remote demonstrative pronoun, and pronoun of the third person *a*, *ã* 'that', 'he', is of frequent occurrence, and appears in several forms. The pronominal suffix of the third person singular, is *ī* or *īh*. [LSI pp. 406-407]

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*Verbs.* For the verb substantive, we have *-ē*, 'is', and *aθ*, 'was'. For the negative verb substantive, we have *niă*, 'I am not'. For the verb corresponding to the Persian *hast*, 'is', we have *ast'ai*, 'thou art'.

The conjugation of the active verb presents several irregularities. Most of these are due to the change of *θ* to *ð* already mentioned, but there are others also.

We have an oblique plural of the past participle *guast'aɣ*, 'a thing said'. The conjunctive participle generally ends in *ō*, as in the Standard, to which the Lahndā suffix *-kar* is sometimes added, as in *guaɣðō-kar*, 'having called'.

The imperative presents frequent irregularities. Thus, we have *di*, for *dai*, 'give thou', *irk'*, for *ēr-k'an*, 'place thou'. With the prefix *bi-* we have *b-ih*, for *bi-y-a*, 'came thou'.

The third person singular of the present-future generally ends in *ð*, corresponding to the standard *θ*. Thus, *lōṭēð*, 'he longs', for the Standard *lōṭīθ*.

As in the Standard dialect, the third person singular of the past tense most often ends in *-a*, has the short form of the past participle. Thus, *ashkt'a*, for *ashkuθa*, 'heard'; *biða*, 'became'. Sometimes, as in the Western dialect, the long form of the past participle is used for this person of the tense, which ends in *ɣa* or *ɣă*; thus, we have *lagiðɣā shuða*, for *lagiθa shuθa*, a translation of the Lahndā *laggā gēā*, and meaning 'he set forth'.

We have a passive in *gushijaɣā*, to be called', and causals in *charānɣā*, 'to feed'; and *wanjēt'ō*, 'having caused to go', i.e. 'having wasted'. [LSI pp. 407-409]

## BALŌCHĪ OF SIND

296 Balōchīs are scattered over the whole of Sind. Some of them, such, for instance, as the Jaṭkī-speaking Lēghārī, have abandoned their tribal language, and speak that of the people amongst whom they have settled, but a majority of them in Sind still speak Balōchī. Most of these people are bilingual, and speak Sindhī as well as Balōchī. It follows that their Balōchī is much mixed with Sindhī. Except the Balōchīs settled in Makrān, who speak the

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Western, or Makrānī dialect, described earlier, the rest speak Eastern dialect. The Balōchī spoken in Upper Sind Frontier District is not being considered here, as this district is geographically a part of Balōchī speaking tract of Balochistan, and is a very pure example of the Standard Eastern dialect.

[LSI pp. 413-414]

The following are the dialectic peculiarities of this Sindhī :

*Borrowing.* There is much borrowing from Sindhī. Thus, we have the Sindhī double consonants in words such as *bbilī*, 'a cat' ; *bbanī*, 'a field'. Nouns occasionally end in the characteristic $^{u}$ of Sindhī ; such are *gunāh*$^{u}$, 'sin' ; *ch'am*$^{u}$, 'an eye', and many others. Sindhī verbs are also taken and conjugated in the Balōchī fashion.

[LSI p. 414]

*Pronunciation.* As in Sindhī, *ṛ* is very often substituted for *r*. Thus, we have *maṛdun*, 'a man'. [LSI pp. 414-415]

*Nouns.* As in the Standard Western dialect, the genitive singular is the same in form as the oblique singular, and ends in *-a* or *-ā*. The eastern custom of giving the genitive no termination is also common. [LSI pp. 415-416]

*Pronouns.* The nominative forms of the first person pronoun are *mu*, 'I' ; *mā*, 'we'.

The pronominal suffixes are as in the Standard, but when they indicate the subject they are sometimes used even when the subject is independently expressed.

The proximate demonstrative pronoun is *ē* or *aē*, 'this'. The remote demonstrative pronoun is *ã*, 'that'. The relative pronoun is indicated by the Persian *ki*, added to the demonstrative pronoun. But the *ki* is often omitted, so that the demonstrative pronoun is then used along in the sense of the relative. The interrogative pronouns are *k'aī*, 'who ?' and *ch'ē*, 'what''

[LSI p. 416]

*Verbs : Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive.* The short forms of the verbs substantive, which have been noted are ; *-ẽ*, 'he is' ; *-ũ*, 'they are' ; *-sã*, 'I was' ; *-a*, 'he was' ; and *-sũ*, 'they were'. The negative verb substantive is *niã*, 'I am not'.

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Much more common is the verb substantive corresponding to the Persian *hast*, we have :

*Present*, 'I am', etc.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *astã̄* | *astū̃* |
| 2. | *astaē* (for *ast'ē*) | *astsē* |
| 3. | *astẽ* | *astū̃* (for *ast'ā*) |

*Past*, 'I was', etc.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *astasã̄* | *astasū̃* |
| 2. | *astasaē* (for *ast'aθē*) | *astasē* |
| 3. | *asta* (for *ast'aθ*) | *astasū̃* (for *ast'aθant'*) |

*Active verb.* The conjugation closely follows that of the Standard but the following points may be noted :

The past participle of *āγ*, 'to come', is *ātika*, for *ātka*, and of *gushaγ*, 'to say', is *gushta*, for *gwashta*. Other past participles, allowing for the change of *θ* to *s*, are, so for as has been noted, the same as in the Standard. The present participle ends in *-ānā* or *-ānã̄* as in *ka'nānā*, 'making'.

The second person plural of the imperative ends in *-ēt*, instead of *-ēθ* or *ēs* ; tnus, we have *janēt*, 'strike ye'. But unless a vowel follows, the *t* is dropped, so that we get a form like *janē*.

The following is the conjugation of the present-future :

'I strike', 'I shall strike', etc.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *janã̄, janã̄ī* | *janū̃* |
| 2. | *janaē* (for *janē*) | *janē* |
| 3. | *jat'* (for *jant'* or *jaθ*) | *janū̃* (for *janant'*) |

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The past tense follows the past participle, and allowing for the representation of *θ* by *s*, does not differ materially from the Standard.

A perfect, not noted as used in the standard Eastern dialect, and formed probably under the influence of Sindhī, is made by suffixing *-astẽ*, etc., to the past participle. Thus, *ātika-astẽ*, 'he has come' ; *lab'isa-astẽ*, 'he has been got'.

For the passive we have, *janijiă*, 'I shall be struck' ; *janījisă*, 'I have been (i. e. I am) struck' ; *guă janījiă*, 'I may be called'.

[LSI pp. 416-419]

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| *English* | *Makrānī of Karāchī* | *Makrānī of Makrān* | *Eastern of Dera Gazi Khan* | *Kachhēji Bōlī* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| one | yak | yak | yak', ya | yak', ya |
| two | dō | dō | dō | dō, dū |
| three | sai | sai | sai | saī |
| four | chār | chār | ch'yār | chiār |
| hand | dast | dast | dast' | dast |
| foot | pād | p'ād | pāδ | p'āz |
| head | sarag | sar | saɣar | sar |
| a father | pitē | piθ, pit | p'iθē | p'isē |
| of a father | pitēg | piθai | p'iθē | p'isē-aī |
| to a father | pitārā | piθā, piθār | piθēār | p'isē-ār, p'isē naɣā |
| two fathers | dō pit | dō piθ | dō p'iθã | du p'is |
| I am | man hastã | man ã, um, or hastã | mã astã | mu astã |
| thou art | tau hastē | tau ai, hastai | t'au ast'ē | t'au astae |
| he is | ā hastin | a e, hastī | ã ast'ẽ | ã astē |
| we are | mā hastū | mā ã, hastã | mā ast' ã | mā astū |

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| *English* | *Makrānī of Karachī* | *Makrānī of Makrān* | *Eastern of Dera Gazi Khan* | *Kachhēji Bōlī* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| you are | shumā hastit | shumā it, hastit | shā astʿē | shā astē |
| they are | ā hostant | ã ant, hastant | ã hã astʿantʿ | hawã astũ |
| I was | man bītagãn | man atã, atum, or hastatã | mã aθã, astʿaθã | mu astasã |
| thou wast | tau bītagē | tau atai, hastatai | tʿau aθē, astʿaθẽ | tʿau astasaē |
| he was | ā bītā | ã at, hastat | ã aθ, astʿaθ | ã asta |
| we were | mā bītagī | mā atã, hastatã | mā aθũ, astʿuθũ | mā astasũ |
| you were | shumā bītagii | shumā atit, hastatit | shā aθē, astʿaθē | shā astasē |
| they were | ā bītagit | ā ataut, hastatant | ãhã aθantʿ, astʿ aθantʿ | hawã astasũ |
| I shall be | man baiã | man baiã bĩ | mã bã | mu bīsã |
| I beat | man a-janã | man janĩ | mã janã | mu janɣã |
| thou beatest | tau a-janē | tau janai | tʿan janē | tʿau janɣaē |
| he beats | ā jant | ã jant | ã jantʿ, jaθ | ã janɣẽ |
| we beat | mā janĩ | mā janã | mã janũ | mā janɣũ |
| you beat | shumā janit | shumā janit | shā jeneθ, janēδ, janē | shā janɣē |

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| *English* | *Makrānī of Karāchī* | *Makrānī of Makrān* | *Eastern of Dera Gazi Khan* | *Kachhēji Bōlī* |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| they beat | ā janant | ã janant | ãhã janant‘ | hawã janaɣū̃ |
| I beat (past) | man jata | man jatum | mā jaθa, jaθayã, jaθã | mu jasa |
| thou beatest (past) | tau jata | tau jatai | t‘au jaθa, jaθaɣē, jaθaē | t‘au jasa |
| he beat (past) | ahā jata | ã jata, jat | ã hiyā jaθa | ã hiã jasa |
| we beat (past) | mā jata | mā jatã | mã jaθa, jaθayū̃, jaθaū̃ | mā jasa |
| you beat (past) | shumā jata | jatit | shawā jaθa, jaθaɣē, jaθaē | shā jasa |
| they beat (past) | ahān jata | ã jatant | ã hāmī jaθa, jaθaɣant‘ jaθant‘ | hawãhã jasa |
| I shall beat | man jaṅã | man janī̃ | mã janã | mu janãī̃ |

[LSI pp. 433-453]

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## THE GHALCHAH LANGUAGES

298 Like Paṣhtō, with which they are closely connected, the Ghalchah languages belong to the Eastern Group of Eranian languages. Only one of them, Yüdghā, lies to the south of the Hindūkush, which forms the natural northern boundary of the inquiries included in this survey. As no useful purpose would be served by giving a grammatical sketch of one isolated dialect, an attempt has been made, so far as possible, to complete the conspectus of Eastern Eranian languages by giving brief grammatical sketches of the languages spoken in the Pāmīrs and to their east.

The following are the names of the Ghalchah languages, so far as information is at present available :

1. Wakhī
2. shighnī
3. sarīkolī
4. Zēbakī, Sanglīchī, or Ishkāshmī
5. Munjānī
6. Yüdghā
7. yaghnōbī

Regarding the first six languages as has been stated above brief grammatical sketches are being given in the subsequent pages. As regards the seventh little is known. Moreover it lies altogether beyond the limits of the present survey. Some authorities deny that it belongs to the Ghalchah group, and prefer to class it with Ossetic. [LSI pp. 455-456]

### WAKHĪ

299 Wakhī is the language spoken in Wakhān, a country lying between the Hindūkush and the southern branch of Oxus. It is spoken in the country near Zēbak.

The following is the brief grammatical sketch of the dialect :



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*Pronunciation.* The vowel *â* represents the Central Asian broad sound, resembling the *aw* in 'pawn'. The vowel *à* is pronounced as in the Italian 'farà'. Unaccented *e* is pronounced as in 'mitraille' ; *ei* as in 'réveille'. The compound *th*, represents the *th* in English word 'thing'. The compound *dh* represents the soft *th* of 'the'. The rough German *ch*, as in 'machen', is represented by *ḵh*. The softer German sound (as in *ich*) by *x̄h*. There is another sound intermediate between these and *sh* ; the tongue being placed considerably further back than in the case of the latter, and the sibilation consequently coming from the back of the palate instead of the front. It seems to correspond to the Sanskrit cerebral *sh*. It is represented by *ṣh*. [LSI p. 458]

*Nouns : Gender.* There is no distinction of gender.

*Number.* The plural is formed by adding *isht* for the nominative, and *av* for the oblique cases.

*Declension.* For nominative and genitive base alone is used. For dative and accusative suffixes *-ar* and *-a*, respectively are added. These sometimes precede instead of following. Thus, *ar-bāzār* or *bāzār-ar*, 'to the market'. For locative *da-* and *sak-* are prefixed to the base. Thus, *da-khun*, 'at or in the house' ; *sak-khūn*, 'on the house'. Instrumental is formed by prefixing *da-* and suffixing *-an* to the base, and ablative is formed by prefixing *tsa-* and suffixing *-an* to the base. Thus, *tsa-khun-an*, 'from the house'. [LSI p. 458]

*Adjectives.* The adjective is uninflected and precedes the substantive. [LSI p. 458]

*Pronouns.* The nominative forms of first two personal pronouns are ; *wuz*, 'I' ; *sak*, *sakisht*, 'we' ; *tu*, 'thou' ; *saisht*, 'you'.

The third person pronouns *yao*, (sing.), *yoisht*, (plur.) are also used as remote demonstrative pronouns.

'What ?' is *chīz* ; 'who ?' is *koi* ; and 'some' is *tsum*. All these pronouns are declined as substantives.

The following pronominal suffixes are used with the imperfect.

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past, perfect, and pluperfect tenses of verbs.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *am* or *im* | *an* ~ *in* |
| 2. | *at* or *it* | *av* ~ *iv* |
| 3. | — | *av* ~ *iv* |

[LSI p. 458]

*Verbs.* Every verb has four bases, viz. the infinitive base; the present base; the past base; and the perfect base. From these are derived all other forms. From the infinitive base are formed (1) the verbal noun, (2) the present-future noun of agency, (3) the future participle passive and (4) the imperfect tense. From present base are formed (1) the present-future indicative, (2) the present-future conditional, and (3) the imperative. From the past base is formed the past tense. From the perfect base is formed, (1) the perfect participle, (2) the perfect tense, (3) the pluperfect tense, and (4), the past conditional.

The following are the terminations of the present tense :

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *-am* | *-an* |
| 2. | *-i* or — | *-it* |
| 3. | *-d* | *-an* |

These are used with the present indicative and conditional and with imperative. With all other tenses (except past conditional) the pronominal terminations are used.

The auxiliary verb is irregular. It is conjugated in the present and past tenses as under :

*Present*, 'I am, etc.'

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *tei-am* | *tei-an* |
| 2. | *tei-at* | *tei-av* |
| 3. | *tei* | *tei-av* |

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*Past*, 'I was', etc.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *tu-am* | *tu-an* |
| 2. | *tu-at* | *tu-av* |
| 3. | *tu* | *tu-av* |

*Active verb.* The pronominal terminations *am*, 'at', etc., may either precede or follow the verb. When they precede, the verb always takes the form of the third person. Thus, *chàld-am* or *am-chaldei*, 'I desired'.

The present-future tense is conjugated as under :

'I desire' or 'shall desire', etc.

| | Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *chàlg-am* | *chàlg-an* |
| 2 | *chàlg-i*,~*chalg* | *chàlg-it* |
| 3. | *chàlg-d* | *chàlg-an* |

The past tense third person singular is formed by adding *-ei* to the past base ; thus, *chàld-ei*, 'he desired'. The other persons are formed by prefixing the separable pronominal terminations, e.g. *am chàld-ei*, 'I desired', or by suffixing them after eliding *-ei*. Thus, *chàld-am*, 'I desired'. When prefixed, they may be in any previous part of the sentence.

To form imperative the present base alone is used for the second person singular, and *-it* is added to form the plural. Thus, *chàlg*, 'desire thou', *chàlg-it*, 'you desire'.

The negative is formed by prefixing *-ma* to the imperative (or to other tenses used in an optative sense), and *-na* to all other tenses.

The interrogative is formed by affixing *â* to the verb, when there is no other interrogative adverb or pronoun in the sentence. Thus, *na dish-ô*, 'dost thou recognise ?'

There is no relative pronoun in this language. The verbal participles are used instead. Thus, *varok wazéin-küzg khalg*, 'the

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to-morrow about-to-come person ; the person who will come to-morrow'. [LSI p. 458]

## SHIGHNĪ

300 This language is spoken in shighnān and Rōshān, north of Wakhān. They lie in the valley of the Oxus (Murghāb) just south of the country of Darwāz in Bokhara, and between that river and the Panjab It is also spoken in Gharan, a small district on the right bank of the Oxus, and near Zēbak. It is locally known as Khungnī or Khugnān. [LSI p. 466]

*Pronunciation.* The pronunciation is the same as in Wakhī. There is an additional sound, represented by *skh*, which is that of German *ch* in 'ich' sibilated so as almost to resemble an English *sh*. [LSI p. 467]

*Nouns.* According to Salemann Shighnī distinguishes between the masculine and feminine genders, -a fact which has not hither to been noted with regard to the other Ghalchah dialects.

The nominative and genitive do not add any preposition or postposition. Other cases add the following prepositions/post-positions :

Dative, *-ar, -ard*~*ar-, tar* 'to',

Accusative, *ϕ*,~*-er.*

Locative, *-te*, 'on'~'to', *-andē*, 'in'.

Ablative, *az-* 'from'.

*Pronouns.* The nominative forms of first two personal pronouns are ; *wuz*, 'I' ; *màsh*, 'we' ; *to*, 'thou' ; *tamà*, 'you'.

The third person pronouns *yu, yid* 'he' ; *ya* 'she' (sing.), *wàdh* ~*dùdh* (plur.) are also used as remote demonstrative pronoun 'that.' The proximate demonstrative pronoun 'this' is *yem, yam* (sing.), *màdh* (plur.)

Other pronouns are, *khu*, 'self' ; *chiz*, 'what, ; *ka*, 'what ?'; *tse*, 'whatever' ; *chi* or *ckai*, 'who' or what ?'.

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The separable pronominal suffixes are :

| | Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *am~um* | *am* |
| 2. | *at* | *et* |
| 3. | *i, e* | *en* |

These are, as in Wakhī, used with the past tenses of verbs. They can be placed either immediately after the verb, or in other parts of the sentence, in addition to the ordinary personal pronouns.

*Verbs.* As in Wakhī all verbs have four bases from which different tenses are formed.

*Auxiliary and verb substantive.* The four bases of the verb *vid* are : infinitive base, *vid- ao* ; present base, *vē* ; past base, *vod*, and perfect base, *vudhj*. The present tense is conjugated as under :

'I am', etc.

| | Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *vī-m* | *vi-am* |
| 2. | *vi-eh* | *vē-it* |
| 3. | *vē-id* | *vē-in* |

or

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *yast (um)* | *yast (am)* |
| 2. | *yast (at)* | *yast (et)* |
| 3. | *yast (e)* | *yast (em)* |

*Finite verb.* Of the finite verb *zekht*, 'take', the past and present-future conjugations are as under :

*Past*, 'I took', etc.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *zōkht (um)* | *zōkht (am)* |
| 2. | *zōkhat (at)* | *zōkht (et)* |
| 3. | *zōkht (i or e)* | *zōkht (en)* |

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*Present-future*, 'I take or shall take', etc.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *zēz-um* | *zēz-am* |
| 2. | *zēz-ē* | *zēz-et* |
| 3. | *zēz-d* | *zēz-en* |

Its conditional would be *zēima*, 'I may take', and *zokhtj vīm*, 'I may have taken', etc.

*tsa* is used as a prefix before verbs in the indicative mood to give a conditional or conjunctive sense. [LSI p. 467]

## SARĪKOLĪ

**301** This is the only one of the Ghalchah languages whose home is to the east of the Pāmīrs proper. It is spoken in the Taghdumbāsh Pāmīr and in the country of Sarīkol, which is situated, north of Hunza, on one of the affluents of the Yarkand river. It is closely connected with Shighnī, the Sarīkolīs deriving their origin from Shighnān. Indeed they may both be considered as dialects of a common language. [LSI p. 471]

The following is the brief grammatical sketch of the dialect :

*Pronunciation*. As in Wakhī. [LSI p. 472]

*Nouns* : *Gender*. There is no distinction of gender.

*Number*. The plural is formed by adding the word *khēl*, 'a troop', for the nominative, and *av*~*iv* for the oblique cases.

*Declension*. For nominative and genitive cases base alone is used. Other case relations are indicated by the use of prepositions/postpositions, which are as under :

Dative, *ar-* ~ *-ir*, 'to'.

Accusative, *a-* ~ *ar-*.

Locative, *pa-*, 'in, at', *chü-*, 'on', *par-*, 'towards'.

Ablative, *az-*, 'from', *-katti*, 'with', *-its*, 'by means of, upto'.

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The dative sometimes adds *-i*. Thus, *mulk-ir-i*, 'to a country'. The noun in the genitive is placed before the governing noun, without any sign ; e.g. *chēd-divīr*, 'the door of the house'.

[LSI p. 472]

*Adjectives*: The adjective is uninflected and usually precedes the substantive. [LSI p. 472]

*Pronouns*. The nominative forms of personal pronouns are ; *waz*, 'I' ; *mash*, 'we' ; *taŏ*, 'thou ; *tamáṣh*, 'you' ; *yū*, 'he, she, it' ; *wŏḍh*, 'they'.

The adjectival pronoun 'this' is *yam* (sing.), *mŏḍh* or *dŏḍh* (plur.), and 'that' is *yü* (sing.), *wŏḍh* (plur.)

*khū*, is 'self' ; *tsēz*, is 'what ?' ; *chŏī* is 'who ?'.

The pronominal terminations are :

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *-am* | *-an* |
| 2. | *-at* | *-av* |
| 3. | — | *-av* |

These may either precede or follow the verb. These are used with the imperfect, past, perfect, and pluperfect tenses of verbs.

There is no relative pronoun. Relative sentences are formed by adding *ĕnj* or *yēnj* to the past or perfect participle of a verb. Thus, *mu wàndj-ĕnj chēd*, 'the house which I have seen'.

[LSI p. 472]

*Verbs*. Every verb has four bases, viz. the root base, the present base, the past base, and the perfect base. From these are derived all other forms as in the case with the preceding two dialects.

From the root base are formed, (1) verbal nouns, (2) future participles, and (3) imperfect tense. From the present base are formed (1) Present-future tense, (2) present-future conditional, and (3) imperative. From past base is formed past tense and



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from perfect base are formed, (1) perfect tense, (2) pluperfect tense, and (3) past conditional.

The terminations of the present tense are :

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *-am* | *-an* |
| 2. | — | *-id, -it* |
| 3. | *-d, -t* | *-in* |

These are used with the present-future, indicative and conditional and with the imperative. With all other tenses (except past conditional) the pronominal terminations are used.

Of the auxiliary verb *vid.*, the present-future is conjugated as under :

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *vaŏ-am ~ yŏst-am* | *vaŏ-an ~ yŏst-an* |
| 2. | *vaŏ ~ yŏst-at* | *vaŏ-id ~ yŏst-av* |
| 3. | *vīd ~ yŏst* | *vaŏ-in ~ yŏst-av* |

*Active verb.* The present-future is conjugated as under :

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *zōz-am* | *zōz-an* |
| 2. | *zōz* | *zōz-id* |
| 3. | *zōz-d* | *zōz-in* |

The imperative is the same as the second person of the present-future tense.

The past tense is formed by prefixing or suffixing the pronominal terminations, except the third person singular which adds no termination ; thus, *zukht*, 'he took' ; *am zukht* or *zukht am*, 'I took'.

The negative is formed by prefixing *ma* to the imperative (or to other tenses used in an optative sense), and *na* to all other tenses.

The interrogative is formed by affixing *â* to the verb, when there is no interrogative pronoun or adverb in the sentence. Thus, *tū qûhr-yât-â*, 'has thy anger come?' [LSI pp. 472-473]

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## ZĒBAKĪ, SANGLĪCHĪ, OR ISHKĀSHMĪ

302 The village of Sanglīch lies in the valley leading to the Dōrah Pass, and gives its name to the dialect spoken there and in the valley leading to the Nuqsān Pass, as well as in the lower course of the combined Wardōj, where it passes into the main Badakhshān valley. Where the two head streams meet is Zēbak, and hence the dialect is also known as Zēbakī. The district of Zēbak is one of the most polyglot spots in this part of Asia. Not only has it its own local dialect, but Persian, Wakhī, and Shighnī are all in use, and Turkī is probably known to many. A very similar dialect is also spoken further north, in the neighbourhood of Ishkāshm, and is there known as Ishkāshmī. These are all slightly varying dialects of one and the same language, which may be called Ishkāshmī Only sufficient material are available with regard to Zēbakī to give a grammatical sketch. Ishkāshmī materials are only sufficient to show, where this dialect differs from Zēbakī. No materials are available for any grammatical notes on Sanglīchī.

[LSI p. 480]

The following is the brief grammatical sketch of Zēbakī.

*Pronunciation.* If the spelling of the specimens is to be accepted as correct, the pronunciation of the vowels is extremely fluctuating. We continually meet the same form written indifferently with *a*, *e*, or *u*. Thus the separable termination of the first person singular is sometimes written *-am*, sometimes *-em*, and sometimes *-im*. There is a strong tendency to drop a final consonant. Thus, we have both *tâ*, and *tât*, 'a father'; *khâ* and *khân*, 'a house'. [LSI pp. 480-481]

*The Article.* As usual, there is no definite article. When the force of a definite article is required, the demonstrative pronoun is used to supply its place. The numeral *wok*, 'one', is commonly used as an indefinite article. [LSI p. 481]

*Nouns : Gender.* The gender of living beings is often defined by the words *nar*, 'male', and *shech*, 'female ; as in *nar wuz*, 'a he-goat', *shech wuz*, 'a she-goat'. At other times different words are used.

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*Number.* The Plural is formed by adding either *-ai~en* (*~an*) to the singular. The two terminations seem to be used with any noun. Thus, *khūg*, 'a big' ; *khūgai*. 'swine'. Sometimes the word *gan* is added to form the plural, as in *hamrah*, 'a friend', plural *hamrah-gan*.

*Case.* The vocative is the same as the nominative as in *ēh-tât* 'O father' ; *ēh-zāt*, 'O son'.

The accusative-dative is either the same as the nominative singular or plural. or else adds *-i*. This form with *-i* also sometimes has the power of general oblique case.

The genitive takes the termination *e* or *a*, both in the singular and in the plural. This termination is sometimes dropped, so that the genitive is then in form the same as the nominative.

Other relations of case are indicated by adding prepositions or postpositions, or both to a general oblique case. The oblique case adds *-e* or *-a* to the nominative singular or plural. It is thus the same in form as the genitive. This final *-e* or *-a* is, however, very commonly dropped, so that the oblique case is often the same as the nominative in form.

The most common prepositions are :

*'ka*, 'in, on, by means of'.

*pa*, 'in'.

*pēzh*, 'in'.

*tsa*, 'from'.

The most common postpositions are :

*bā*, 'to, for'.

*chi-pusht*, 'behind'.

*gel*, 'with, together with'.

*jā*, 'near to, before'.

*khātir*, 'for the sake of'.

*sar*, 'on'.

If the final *a* of the oblique case is dropped, then the noun generally ends in a consonant, and this final consonant is, as has

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been explained under the head pronunciation, very commonly dropped. Thus, the dative singular of *tât*, 'a father', is *tâta bā*, *tât ba* or *tâ bā*, 'to a father'. [LSI pp. 481-484]

*Adjectives.* When in agreement with a noun, these are immutable. The comparative and supperlative may be formed by prefixing *fai*, 'much, very', as in *fai-ferī*, 'better, or very good, best'. Or the Persian suffix *-tar*, may be used, as in *ferī-tar*, 'better, or best'. The thing with which comparison is made is put in the ablative with *tsa*. [LSI. p. 485]

*Pronouns.* The nominative forms of first two personal pronouns are ; *oz*, 'I' ; *mōkh*, 'we' ; *tō*, *tōmas*, 'thou' ; *tōmōkh*, 'ye'. For the third person the demonstrative pronouns, *ao*, *aomas*, 'that', and *am*, 'this', particularly the former, are employed. The personal pronouns have a genitive absolute, corresponding to English 'mine', 'ours', 'yours', etc.; thus ; *men-en*, 'mine', *tī-nen*, 'thine'.

The relative pronoun is *ke*, as in Persian, and is not declined. The interrogative pronouns are *kai*, 'who ?' and *tsīz*, 'what (inanimate) ?'. Neither changes in declension.

The pronominal suffixes are freely employed. They are as follows :

| | Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *-am*, *-em*, *-im*, *-ma* | *-en*, (*-e*) |
| 2. | *-ē*, *-ī*, *-ai* | *-ev*, *-av*, (*-e*, *-a*) |
| 3. | *-a* | *-en*, (*-e*) |

These suffixes are mainly used to indicate the subject (in the nominative case) of the past tense of a transitive verb, and may be joined either to the verb or to any other important word in the sentence. Sometimes they are repeated two or three times in the same phrase. [LSI pp. 485-490]

*Verbs : verb substantive.* The word for 'he is' is *āst*, and for 'he is not' is *nast*. These can apparently be used for all persons of both numbers ; but the separable pronominal suffixes are often added, and, then, frequently to some other word in the sentence. Thus, we have *az-im āst*, 'I am', and so on. When a pronominal

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suffix is used, the verb substantive is often omitted, so that the suffix has practically itself the force of a verb substantive. Thus, *kāi-a ka war*, 'who is at the door'.

The word for 'was' is *wod*. To this the separable pronominal suffixes can be added, as in the case of any other verb in the past tense. Thus, we have *az-im wod*, 'I was', and so on.

*The active verb.* The conjugation of the verb follows the usual Ghalchah model. There is a present base, and a past base, and also a perfect base, which is generally formed from the past base by the addition of *-āk*.

Separable pronominal suffixes indicating the subject are used with all the tenses, although properly speaking, they should be used only with the past and perfect bases.

The infinitive ends in *-āk*, as in *deh-āk*, 'the act of beating, to beat'.

The past participle is the past base. It is mainly used to form the past tense.

The present-future tense is used both as a present and as a future. Sometimes syllable *bi* is added to emphasize the force of the future, but the tense is freely used in the future sense without this addition. It is conjugated as follows :

'I strike, I shall strike', etc.

| | Sing. | Plur. |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *az deham* ~ *az-im deh* | *mōkh dehan* |
| 2. | *tō dehē* ~ *tōmas deh* | *tōmōkh dehav* |
| 3. | *ao* ~ *aomas dehai* | *āwend dehan* |

The second person singular of the imperative is usually the same as the present base, as in *deh*, 'strike thou' ; *khar*, 'eat thou'. The second person plural ends in *v*, and closely follows the second person plural of the present. Thus, *fai ferī wanjī izhemav*, 'bring ye a very good garment'.

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The past tense is formed by adding the separable pronominal suffixes to the past participle. These suffixes usually indicate the subject of the verb. The following is the paradigm of the past tense. It will be observed that separate termination of the first person singular is attached to the subject.

'I struck', etc.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *az-im dēd* | *mōkh-e dēd-en* |
| 2. | *tō dēd-ī* | *tōmōkh dēd-av* |
| 3. | *ao dēd* | *āwend-e dēd-en* |

[LSI pp. 490-498]

## ISHKĀSHMĪ

303 The materials available for Ishkāshmī are too scanty for a complete account of the dialect, and it must suffice here to describe briefly the main points, so far as they are known, in which it differs from Zēbakī. [LSI p. 505]

*Pronunciation.* The Ishkāshmī vowel system is in the main the same as that of Zēbakī. The only important difference is that the former often has *u* or *ū*, where the latter has *a* or *ā*. Thus, Ish *dust* or *dūst*, Zb. *dāst*, 'a hand'. [LSI p. 505]

*Nouns.* The declension of nouns has been considerably simplified from that of Zēbakī. The nominative plural does not end in *-ai* or *-en*, but is the same as the nominative singular. The oblique cases singular, including the genitive, are generally the same as the nominative, but, occasionally, as in Zēbakī, the accusative-dative ends in *-i*, as in *wi dumb-i nad*, 'he grasped its tail'.

The oblique case of the plural is generally the same as the nominative, but sometimes it takes the termination *-êw* or *-ā*, as in *tsa wazirâw frut*, 'he enquired from the viziers'.

The following is the list of the principal Ishkashmī prepositions and postpositions :

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(*a*) Prepositions, *dar*, 'in' ; *pa*, 'in' ; *tâ*, 'till' ; *tar*, 'into, to' ; *tsa*, 'from'.

(*b*) Postpositions, *-bā*, 'to, for' ; *bād*, 'after' ; *darūn*, 'among' ; *dz̲â*, 'near, to' ; *vi̲sh*, 'below'. [LSI p. 505]

*Pronouns.* The pronoun of the second person is *tu*, which does not change in the singular, corresponding alike to Zēbakī *tō* and *tī*. The plural is *tamu̲kh*, corresponding to Zēbakī *tōmo̲kh*. The remote demonstrative pronoun is *wa*, which is also used as the pronoun of the third person. Another form of the remote demonstrative is *dir*, 'that', which has analogies in Sarīkolī and Shi̲ghnī, but which has not been noted in Zēbakī.

As in Zēbakī, Ish̲kāsh̲mī has no indigenous relative pronoun, but *ts̲ē*, the base of the interrogative pronoun in cognate dialects, is sometimes used with this force.

The interrogative pronouns are *kudum*, 'who?' and *kum* or *chīz*, 'what?'

Allowing for differences of spelling, the pronominal suffixes, so far as they are known, are very similar to those in Zēbakī. Only that of the second person singular differs, which are *-et*, *-ut*. [LSI pp. 506-507]

*Verbs.* The materials for illustrating the conjugation of the Ish̲kāsh̲mī verb are scanty. The only form of the present of the verb substantive that has been noted is *âst*. corresponding to Zēbakī *āst*, 'he is'.

The past is *vud*, 'he was', corresponding to Zēbakī, *wod*. It is conjugated as usual by the addition of pronominal suffixes. Thus, *vud-um*, 'I was', *vud-ut*, 'thou wast', and so on.

The infinitive of the active verb ends in *-uk*. corresponding to the Zēbakī *-ēk*. Thus, *kh̲ar-uk*, 'to eat, the act of eating'.

The terminations of the present-future in the singular are, (1) *-um*, (2) *-ī*, *i*, (3) or *ī*. There is no information as to the plural in Ish̲kāsh̲mī.

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In Ishkāshmī the second person singular of the imperative is, as elsewhere, the same as the present base. The plural is formed by adding *-aw* or *-uw*, corresponding to Zēbakī *-av*. Thus, *avīraw*, 'bring ye'.

The past tense is conjugated as usual,—by adding the pronominal suffixes to the past participle, exactly as in Zēbakī. Thus, *shud-im*, 'I went'.

The negative is *na* or *nus*, 'not'. The latter corresponds to Zēbakī *nas*. [LSI pp. 507-508]

## MUNJĀNĪ OR MUNGĪ

304 This is the language of Munjān tract, which is situated north of the Dōrāh Pass, on the north side of Hindukush. It is nearly due north of the town of Chitral. According to Tomaschek, Munjānī is one of the Ghalchah languages, which, more than any other, possesses ancient forms, and which most nearly approaches to the old language of the Avesta. [LSI p. 509]

The following is an imperfect grammatical sketch of the dialect, due to the lack of sufficient materials :

*Nouns.* There are two numbers, singular and plural, and two genders, masculine and feminine. The plural is formed by adding *-e* to the singular form. Thus, *tāt*, 'a father' ; *tate*, 'fathers'. Some nouns also undergo some other modifications in their forms in the plural.

To indicate gender in animate beings usually different words are used ; thus, *pūr*, 'a son' ; *leghda*, 'a daughter'. [LSI pp. 509-510]

*Adjectives.* Adjectives do not seem to change for gender. [LSI p. 510]

*Pronouns.* The nominative forms of personal pronouns are ; *ze*, 'I' ; *makh*, 'we' ; *to*, 'thou' ; *maf*, 'ye' ; *wo*, 'he' ; *wai*, *waf*, 'they'.



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'This' is *ma* or *mo*; 'who' is *kedē*; 'what ?' is *shtē*.

Pronouns are suffixed as in Persian; thus, *wera-it* 'thy brother'; *tāt-ish*, 'his father'.

Separable pronominal terminations, used with the past tenses, exist as in other Ghalchah languages. They seem to be :

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *-em, -am* | *-am* |
| 2. | *-et, -ai* | *-af* |
| 3. | *-ai, -a* | *-at* |

[LSI pp. 510-511]

*Verbs. Auxiliary verbs and verbs substantive.* The present and past tense conjugations are as under :

*Present*, 'I am', etc.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *hast-am* | *hast-am* |
| 2. | *hast-ai, ast-ai* | *hast-af* |
| 3. | *hast, ast* | *hast-at* |

*Past*, 'I was', etc.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *vi-am* | *vi-am* |
| 2. | *vi-ai* | *vi-af* |
| 3. | *vi-a* | *vi-at* |

*The active verb.* The Ghalchah system of conjugation with different bases is clearly seen. The present-future tense is conjugated as under :

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'I beat, I shall beat', etc.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *duh-um* | *deh-am* |
| 2. | *deh-i* | *deh-af* |
| 3. | *deh-i* | *deh-at* |

If it is wished to emphasize the future signification, khāmakhā is prefixed. Thus, *ze khāmakhā duhum*

The past tense is formed from a past base as in other Ghalchah dialects. Moreover, as in them, separable pronominal terminations can be added. When the subject of a transitive verb is a pronoun it is either in the nominative case, or in the oblique form. Thus, we have, *ze* or *men zhi-em*, 'I did beat'; *mākh zhi-am*, 'we did beat'. [LSI pp. 511-512]

## YÜDGHĀ OR LEOṬ KUH-I-WĀR

305 The language is said to be called yidghā or yūdghā by those who speak it, and Leoṭ-kuh-i-wār by Chitrālīs. It is spoken in the upper part of Lutkho valley. Its true name is probably yūdghā. [LSI p. 518]

The following is the brief grammatical sketch of the dialect based on Biddulph's work :

*Pronunciation.* *ă* is pronounced as *a* in 'have'; *e* as in the French 'était'; *o* as the first *o* in 'promote'. *sh* and *kh* are interchangeable. Thus, mīsh or *mīkh*, 'a day'.

*Nouns.* There are two numbers, singular and plural. The plural is usually formed by adding *-i*; thus, *kyē*, 'a house'; *kyē-i*, 'houses'.

The genitive and the accusative are simply the same as the nominative. Dative is formed by prefixing *na-* and suffixing *-en* in the singular and *-ef* in the plural. Likewise ablative is formed

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by prefixing *ze-* and suffixing *-en* in the singular and *-ef* in the plural ; thus, *na kyē-en*, 'to a house' ; *na kyē-ef*, 'to houses'.

*Pronouns.* The nominative forms of personal pronouns are ; *zoh*, 'I' ; *mākh*, 'we' ; *tū*, 'thou' ; *māf*, 'you' ; *voh*, *woh*, *hūroh*, 'he, she, it' ; *yet*, *weh*, *hūreh*, 'they'.

The pronominal suffixes used with the present and past tenses are :

| | *Present tense* | | *Past tense* | |
|---|---|---|---|---|
| | Singular | Plural | Singular | Plural |
| 1. | *am* | *am* | *em* | *em* |
| 2. | *e* | *af* | *t* | *ef* |
| 3. | *e* | *at* | — | *et* |

*Verbs* : *Auxiliary verbs.* The present tense of the verb *ăstăh*, 'to be', is *ăstet*, 'I am', etc. for all persons and both numbers. In the past tense it is conjugated as under :

I 'was', etc.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *bīm* | *bī-um* |
| 2. | *bī-t* | *bī-if* |
| 3. | *bīōh* | *bī-it* |

The conjugations of the verb *shūăh*, 'to become', in the present-future tense are as under :

'I become, or shall become', etc.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *shom* | *shom* |
| 2. | *shū-īt* | *shof* |
| 3. | *shū-īt* | *shot* |

The past tense is *bī-m*, etc.

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*Regular verb.* The conjugations of the verb, *zhiăh*, 'to strike', in the present-future and past tenses are as follows :

*Present-future*, 'I strike or shall strike', etc.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *dă ham* | *dă ham* |
| 2. | *dehe* | *dă haf* |
| 3. | *dehe* | *dahat* |

*Past*, 'I struck' etc.

| | Singular | Plural |
|---|---|---|
| 1. | *zhī-em* | *zhī-em* |
| 2. | *zhī-t* | *zhī-ef* |
| 3. | *zhīoh* | *zhī-et* |

The passive voice is formed by the use of the auxiliary verb *kshiyăh*, 'to go' ; *zhiăh-kshiyăh*, 'to be struck'.

The interrogative is formed by adding *-a* to the verb in all its forms. [LSI p. 519]

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306 STANDARD LIST OF SELECT WORDS AND SENTENCES

| *English* | *Wakhī* | *Shighnī* | *Sarīkolī* |
|---|---|---|---|
| one | iv, īv, i, ī | yīv, yiv, i | īv, ī, i |
| two | būi | duyōn, dho | dhà, dhàu |
| three | trūi | ārrai | arāi, arōi, haroi |
| four | tsebür, tsabür | ts avūr, tsavōr | tsavūr |
| hand | dast, dhast | dost, dhöst | dhist, dhüst |
| foot | pūd, püdh | pād, pâdh | piyadh, pedh |
| head | sār | kâl, kal | kāl, kâl |
| a father | tat | dād | atâ |
| of a father | tat | dād | atâa |
| to a father | tat-rek | dādard | atâir |
| two fathers | bū tatisht | duyōn dāden | dhâ atá |
| I am | wuz-um tei | wuz-um yast | waz-am yāst (*or* yost *and so passim*) |
| thou art | tu-tei | tu-t yast | tau-at yāst |
| he is | yâ tei | yu yast | yu yāst |
| we are | sak-en tei | mâsh emyast | mash-ad (*or* mashēf-an) yāst |
| you are | sāisht tei | tamà-et yast | tamash-ēf-yāst |
| they are | yâīsht tei | was-en yast | wādh-af yāst |
| I was | wuz-um tu | wuz-um vōd | waz-am vad (*or* vüd *and so passim*) |
| thou wast | tu-et tu | tu-t vōd | tau-at vud |
| he was | yâ tu | yu vōd | yu vud |
| we were | sak-entu | mâsh-em vad | mash-an vud |
| you were | sāisht tu | tamà-et vad | tamash ēf vud |

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## IN THE GHALCHAH LANGUAGES

| *Zebakī and Ishkashmī* | *Munjanī* | *Yudgha* |
|---|---|---|
| wok (Ish.) wak, wok | yu | yū or yu |
| dōv, dō (Ish.) dau, dō | lu or le | loh |
| rāi, rā (Ish.) rūi | sherai | shuroi |
| tsafūr (Ish.) ts$^{a}$fur | chfūr | chshīr |
| dāst (Ish.) dust, dūst | lāst | last |
| pūd (Ish.) pu | pâla | pela |
| sōr (Ish.) sur, sâr | pūser | pūsr |
| tât (Ish ) tāt, tot | tāt | tat |
| tâte, tâta (Ish.) tāt, tot | zhe tātan | wa tat |
| tâ bā (Ish.) tāt bā | ne tāt | ne tatn |
| dō tât (Ish.) dō tāt | lu tāte | loh tate |
| az-im āst | ze hastam | zo astet |
| tōmas āst | to hastai | ta astet |
| aomas āst (Ish.) āst | wo hast | wo astet |
| mōkh-e āst | mākh hastam | makh astet |
| tōmōkh-e āst | māf hastaf | maf astat |
| āwend-e āst | wai hastat | woi astet |
| az-im wod (Ish ) vud-um | ze viam | zo viem |
| tōmas wod (Ish.) vud-at | to viai | to viet |
| aomas wod (Ish.) vud | wo via | wo vio |
| mōkh-e wod | mākh viam | makh viem |
| tōmōkh wod | māf viaf | maf vief |

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| *English* | *Wakhī* | *Shighnī* | *Sarīkolī* |
|---|---|---|---|
| they were | yâist tu | wâd-ēn vad | wādh-af vud |
| I shall be | wuz wâtsum | wuz veiam, vàyam | waz vas-am |
| I beat | wuz dīam dīman, dīm | wuz dehdā wandam, *or* wu de hum, *and so throughout, as in the future* tu dehdāwandē | waz dhâyam |
| thou beatest | tu-dīi, dī | tu dehdāwandē | tau dhâ |
| he beats | yâ deht, dikht | yo dedāwandē | yu dhīt, dhīd |
| we beat | sakdien, dinen shadinen | mâsh-am dehdā wandē | mash dhāyan |
| you beat | sāisht dīit, dīt sh-dīt | tamà-et dehdā-wandē | tamash dhâyit, dhâyid |
| they beat | yâisht dīen, dinen | wâd-ēn dehdā wandē | wādh dhâyin |
| I beat (past) | wuz-um dehtei dikhtei | wuz-um dād dhâd | waz-am dhūd (*or* dhâd, *and so passim*) |
| thou beatest (past) | tu-et dehtei, | tu-t dād, dhâd | tan-at dhūd |
| he beat (past) | yaθ dehtei, dikh-tei | yu dād, dhâd | yu dhūd |
| we beat (past) | sak-en dehtei, dikhtei | mâsh-em dād dhâd | mash-an (*or* mashēf-an dhūd |
| you beat (past) | sāisht-ev dehtei, dikhtei | tamà-et dād, dhâd | tamash-ēf dhūd |
| they beat (past) | yâisht dehtei, dikhtei | wâd-ēn dād, dhâd | wādh-af dhūd |
| I shall beat | wuz dīm | wuz dehum | waz dhâyam |

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| *Zēbakī and Ishkāshmī* | *Munjānī* | *Yūdgha* |
|---|---|---|
| āwend-e wod (Ish.) vud-ān | wai viat | woi viet |
| az shom bi | ze khāmakhā āim | zo oim |
| az-im deh, az dehem | ze duhum | zo deham |
| tōmas deh, tō dehē | to dehi | to dehe |
| aomas dehai | wo dehi | wo dehe |
| mōkh dehen | mākh deham | makh deham |
| tō mōkh dehav | māf dehaf | maf dehaf |
| āwend dehen | wai dehat | woi dehat |
| az-im dēd (Ish.) dēd-im | ze *or* men zhiem | men zhim |
| tō dēd-ī (Ish.) dēd-at | to zhiet | to zhit |
| ao dēd (Ish ) dēd | wo zhia | won zhīo |
| mōkh-e dēh-en | mākh zhiam | makh zhiem |
| tōmōkh dēd-av | māf zhiaf | maf zhief |
| āwend-e dēd-en (Ish.) dēd-ān | wai zhiat | wof zhiet |
| az dehem bi | ze khāmakhā duhum | zo deham |

[LSI pp. 531-549]



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# VOL. XI

# GIPSY LANGUAGES

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# GIPSY LANGUAGES

## INTRODUCTION

307 The name 'Gipsy', which it has become customary to call all migratory tribes, found all over India, representing various trades including jugglers, acrobats and thieves, does not imply any connection between Indian Gipsies and the Gipsies of Europe. The word Gipsy, which is, as is well known, a corruption of Egyptian; was originally applied to those well-known migratory tribes who began to make their name known and feared in Europe in the 15th century. The word has then also come to be used to denote other people of similar migratory habits, and this is the sense in which it has been used in the survey. The Gipsy languages are, accordingly, dialects spoken by the vagrant tribes of India.
[LSI p 1]

308 *Languages.* The information available about these forms of speech is limited. Many speakers of Gipsy tribes simply speak the language of their neighbours. Others are bilingual or even multilingual, adopting the speech of the district where they happen to stay in all their dealings with outsiders, but retaining a peculiar dialect of their own when talking among themselves. For this latter purpose many of these tribes have also developed a secret argot, which they commonly call Pārsī, 'Persian'. These argots have nothing to do with grammar, but are based on some dialect, which may be designated as the home tongue of the tribe. Moreover, such tribes as have not developed any artificial argot, often have a dialect of their own. As a consequence of the migratory habits of these tribes, their languages are to some extant mixed. Where the base is comparatively uniform and practically identical with one definite tongue, such dialects have been dealt with in connection with that form of speech. viz., the Dravidian and Bhīl languages, while the rest are being described in this section.
[LSI pp. 1-3]



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309 *Classification.* The Gipsy languages can be divided into two groups, (1) ordinary dialects, (2) argots. Ōḍkī comes under the former group and Sãsi, Kōlhāṭī, Gārōḍī, Kanjarī Ḍōm and Qaṣāī under the latter. These have been described in the following pages.

The traditions of these tribes, who speak these dialects point towards Rajputana or Central India. The peculiarities of their pronunciation and grammar also corroborates this. The existence of a Rājasthānī element in so many Gipsy dialects may be taken as an indication that they have abandoned their old speech, a Dravidian form, and adopted an Aryan tongue within an area where Rājasthānī was spoken. [LSI pp. 5-7]

310 *Argots.* The Indian Gipsy tribes have a common origin is further strengthened by a consideration of the artificial argots which some of them have developed. It is the common practice with the artificial argots all the world over to disguise common words by means of transpositions and change of sounds. These argots are chiefly used by criminals and disreputable individuals for the sake of secrecy. Their nature is, however, quite the same as that of the various kinds of play languages which we are accustomed to consider as desultory results of children's fancy. [LSI pp. 7-8]

311 *Indian Argots.* Most Indian argots are artificial tongues which do not convey one meaning to the initiated ones and another to outsiders, but which are simply unintelligible to those who have not learnt them. For instance, a certain amount of peculiar words are used which are not found in ordinary speech, e.g. *lug*, 'to die', is used in Sãsī, Kanjarī and Ḍōm; *khum*, 'month', is used in Kōlhāṭī, Ṣãsī, and Gārōḍī. Again, considering the fact that ethnologists describe the most important Gipsy tribes as Dravidian, some of the words seem to have a Dravidian origin, e.g., Sãsī *baunnā*, Kōlhāṭī *bōnā*, 'gold', with Tamil *pon*: Sãsī *kūdrā*, 'a horse', with Tamil *kudirei*; Kanjarī *khēḍō*, Qaṣāī *khēḍā*, Kōlhāṭī *rhēḍā*, 'house', with Kanarese *khēḍa*. Moreover the interchange between hard and soft sounds in Sãsī, Kolhāṭī etc., the disaspiration of aspirates and aspiration of unaspirated sounds in several argots, the frequent use of relative participles, and so on in Kanjarī may be mentioned in connection with Dravidian relationship.

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Most words in the Indian argots are not peculiar to them, but belong to the common Aryan vocabulary of India. They are then adapted for use by various means of disguise. Thus the transposition of sounds plays some part, e.g., Sāsī *kabrā=bakrā*, 'goat'; *chōmī=mōchī*, 'shoemaker'. More common are changes by means of prefixed or suffixed syllables, e.g., in Sāsī *kha-kal*, 'famine'; *ḍha-gal*, 'neck'; the syllables *kha*, *ḍha* have simply been prefixed to the ordinary words. In some cases the same additions are used in the same way in more than one argot. Thus, *k* or g is common after verbs ending in vowels or in *h* in Sāsī, Kōlhāṭī, Kanjarī and so on; additions containing an *r* are common in verbs in many argots.

The denomination 'Gipsy' does not imply any connection with Gipsies of Europe. These latter have originally come from India, and it is well known how they resemble the Indian Gipsies in appearance and habits. Their language shows many points of correspondence with the dialect of Indian Gipsy tribes such as Ḍōms, e.g. European Gipsy *gajō*, 'gentile', Sāsī *kajjā*; European Gipsy *jukel*, 'dog'; Kanjarī *jhũkil*; Sāsī *chhũkaḷ*, *bhũkaḷ*, Kōlhāṭī *ḍhokkal*. The language of the Gipsies of Europe, however, points towards the extreme North-West of India, and the prevailing opinion among the Scholars seems to be that they have nothing to do with the Indian tribes whose dialects are here under consideration. [LSI pp. 8-11]

## ŌḌKĪ

312 The Ōḍs are a wandering tribe who are found all over India. The majority of the Ōḍs are found in South India and are stated to speak a patois of Telugu. We have no sufficient information about the dialect of the remaining Ōḍs. The Ōḍs were probably from the beginning Dravidians and spoke a form of Telugu. Later on, a comparatively numerous section seems to have spent a considerable time in a locality where the prevailing languages were Marāṭhī, Gujarātī and Rājasthānī. It is of interest to note that the Ōḍs of Northern India are only found in the west, from the United Provinces to Sind. So far we know their language everywhere contains a strong Marāṭhī element, and it seems likely that

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their North Indian home must have been in North-Western Dekhan.

It is a mixed form of speech containing elements taken from different sources. As in the case of Gipsy languages of Europe these elements are important as showing the route by which the tribe must have wandered. They are, however, to a great extent so perspicuous that it is unnecessary to enter upon a detailed discussion. It will be sufficient to draw attention to some of the most important features.

*Marāṭhī affinities.* The Marāṭhī element is particularly strong. Thus, the neuter of strong bases ends in *ē* or *ẽ* as in Marāṭhī. Strong masculine bases end in *ā*, plural *ē*; thus, *ghōṛā*, 'horse'; *ghōṛē*, 'horses'. The terminations of the genitive are *chā*, *chī*, *chē*. The past tense of verbs add *la* termination; thus, *gēlā*, 'went', *mārlā*, 'struck'. Compare further the imperative plural in *ā*; thus, *āwā*, 'come': the infinitives in *ũ* and *ṇē*; thus, *kēhũ*, 'to say'; *mārṇē*, 'to strike', and so forth. Such forms hail from districts where Marāṭhī is not a home tongue of the population.

*Gujarātī-Rājasthanī affinities.* Several of the usual terminations in Ōḍkī do not agree with Marāṭhī but with Gujarātī and Rājasthānī Such are the suffixes *ē* of the agent and *nē* of the dative, both of which are also found in Mālvī; the ablative in *tī*; the locative in *mã̃*; forms such as *hẽ*, 'I' (compare Gujarātī, Mālvī and Mārwāṛī *hũ*) *chhē*, *sē* and *hē*, 'is'. The Gujarātī element is strongest in Gujarātī districts such as the Panch Mahals and Ahmedabad, but is also apparent in other districts.

Features borrowed from languages other than Marāṭhī and Gujarātī have more of a local character. [LSI pp. 32-33]

## SÃSĪ

313 The Sãsīs are one of the best known criminal tribes. They commonly use the word bhattū (in the Panjab) or *bhãtū* (in Saharanpur) to denote themselves. They are most numerous in the Panjab, especially in the districts of Gurdaspur, Amritsar, Lahore, Gujranwala, Sialkot and Gujrat.

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The Sãsīs are to a great extent migratory, and their dialect differs according to locality. Thus, the Sãsīs of the United Provinces apparently speak Hindōstānī, while the dialect of their cousins in the Northern Panjab is closely related to Pañjābī. A consequence of their migratory habits is also the use of forms and suffixes belonging to different vernaculars by the same Sãsīs. Thus, in the dialect spoken in the Northern Panjab we find the genitive formed by adding a suffix *gā* or *ka* as in Hindōstānī, while the suffix of the ablative is *thõ*, which reminds us of Gujarātī. The use of an oblique form ending in *-ā* of weak nouns, seems to show that there is in Sãsī an element, a substratum, which does not belong to Panjab, but rather more to the South, where we approach the Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī areas.

The following is the brief grammatical sketch of the Sãsī dialect spoken in North Panjab. It might be characterised as intermediate between Pañjābī and Hindōstānī.

*Pronunciation.* Vowels are pronounced as in Pañjābī. Short vowels are sometimes so shortened as to be almost slurred (indicated by the sign ˘) ; thus, *bappā-gŭ*, 'to the father'. A short vowel before a double consonant in monosyllabic words becomes half long (marked by adding an accent above the vowel) but usually remains short if new syllables are added ; *ákkh*, 'eye' ; *bápp*, 'father', but *bappā-gā*, 'of a father'. The accent marking in words such as *átā* 'coming' ; *chátā*, 'wishing', denotes a peculiar lengthening of a long vowel, which has no parallel in Pañjābī. The pronunciation of consonants is said to agree with Pañjābī.

*Nouns.* There are two genders, the masculine, which is also used as a neuter, and the feminine. The oblique base of masculine nouns ending in *-ī*, *-ū* and consonants, and of feminine nouns ends in *-ā*, their case of the agent in *-ẽ*. The nominative plural is like the singular in the case of masculine nouns, while feminines end in *-ā̃*. The oblique plural ends in *-ẽ*. Masculine nouns ending in *-ā* change their *ā* to *e* in the oblique case, to *ẽ* in the case of the agent, to *e* in the nominative plural and to *ẽ* in the oblique plural.

The common case suffixes are, —dative *gŭ* ; ablative *thõ* ; and genitive *gā*, fem. *gī*, plural *gā̃*. The usual Hindōstānī suffixes,



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dative *kō*, ablative *sē*, genitive *kā*, *kī* are used instead in Gujarat, Gurdaspur and Sialkot, and in the United Provinces the inflexion of nouns is the same as in Hindōstānī.

*Pronouns.* Some of the pronominal forms are ; *haũ* 'I' ; *ham*, 'we' ; *taũ*, 'thou' ; *tam*, 'you' ; *mērā*, 'my' ; *mhārā*, 'our' : *tērā*, 'thy' ; *tuhārā*, 'your' ; *ĕā*, 'this' ; *uh*, *ōh* 'that'.

*Verbs.* The common verb substantive is *hōṇā*, 'to be'. Its present participle is *hōtā*, 'being', and its conjunctive participle *hōīkē*, 'having been'. The present tense is formed as follows :

| Singular | Plural |
|---|---|
| 1. *haĩ* | *hã* |
| 2. *haĩ* | *hō* |
| 3. *haĩ* | *haĩ* |

The past tense is singular masc. *thīyyā*, fem. *thīyyī* ; plural masc. *thīyyē*, fem. *thīyyīã* ; or *siyyā*, fem. *siyyī* ; plur. masc. *sīyyē*, fem. *sīyyīã*.

The verb substantive is largely used in the conjugation of ordinary verbs.

*Present tense.* The old present is conjugated like the present tense of the verb substantive ; thus, *haũ mārẽ*, 'I may beat'. The present tense is formed by adding the present of the verb substantive to the present participle ; thus, *ham mārtē hã*, 'we are beating, we beat'. Several compound tenses are used as a habitual present. Such are *haũ mārtā hōtā haĩ*, 'I am being beaten'.

*Past tense.* The ordinary past tense is identical with the past participle passive ; thus, *haũ gayā*, 'I went'. The past tense of transitive verbs is a passive form, and the subject is put in the case of the agent ; thus, *hamõ māriā*, 'by us beaten, we beat'.

*Future.* The suffix of the future is *-gṛā*, preceded by an *-ṅ-* in the first and second persons singular and the first and third persons plural. The regular future forms of *māṛṇā*, 'to beat', are :

| Singular | Plural |
|---|---|
| 1. *mārañgṛā* | *mārañgṛē* |
| 2. *mārañgṛā* | *māragṛē* |
| 3. *māragṛā* | *mārañgṛē* |

and *mārañg*, indeclinable for singular and plural.

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Similar forms are found in Maṇḍeālī, Sukētī and Bilāspurī.

Imperative is formed as in Pañjābī and Hindōstānī.

The suffix of the infinitive is *-ṇā* ; thus, *māṛṇā*, 'to beat'. The present participle ends in *-tā* as in Hindōstānī ; thus, *mārtā*, 'beating'. The past participle is generally formed as in Pañjābī ; thus *māriā*, 'beaten', though Hindōstānī forms, such as *gaya*, 'gone', also occur.

Passive forms agree with Pañjābī and Hindōstānī ; thus, *haũ māriā jatta haĩ*, 'I am beaten'. [LSI pp. 49-53]

The Sãsīs, in order to be able to converse with each other without being understood by outsiders, have like other criminal tribes in addition to their real dialect devised a criminal variation, an argot or 'thieves' Latin' which they themselves call *Fārsī*, Persian. This is not, however, a different dialect, but identical with the common speech in phonology and grammar. It is based on the ordinary dialect and consists in changing individual words so as to make them unrecognizable. As in the case of European Argots, it contains a number of peculiar words, probably picked up from various sources, most of which cannot so far be satisfactorily explained.

The greatest portion of the vocabulary of this tribe consists of common words changed or disguised in various ways. The sounds of a word are often transposed. Thus, we find *kabrā* instead of *bakrā*, 'goat'. The most common device of disguising words is to add a syllable in front, and this addition often entirely supersedes the beginning of the word. Thus by adding *kha* to the ordinary Sãsī word *das* we get *khadas* and finally *khas* both of which are in use in criminal Sãsī. Similarly we find *bāḷ*, *khabāḷ* and *chabāḷ*, 'hair'.

*K*, *kh*, and *g* are sometimes added before vowels ; thus, *kōdmī* =*ādmī*, 'man', *khassī*=*assī*, 'eighty', *gupāhī*=*sipāhī*, 'soldier'.

*N* is a common substitute for various sounds ; thus, *naḷī*= *chaḷī*, 'forty' ; *nōrī*=*chōrī*, 'theft'. So many other sounds are used to disguise the ordinary forms, but their choice is arbitrary and it is impossible to detect any rules regulating the choice between them. [LSI pp. 60-63]

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## KŌLHĀṬĪ

314 The Kōlhāṭīs are a tribe of rope dancers and timblers in Bombay, Berar and the Hyderabad State. They also call themselves Bhatco, which is identical with the Sãsī word *bhattū*, 'a Sãsī man'. The corresponding Kōlhāṭī feminine *bhatānī* means 'wife' and is identical with Sãsī *bhatāṇī*, 'a Sãsī woman'. It is tempting to infer a closer relationship between Kōlhāṭī and Sãsī from this, and indeed an examination of Kōlhāṭī shows that it is a dialect of the same kind as Sãsī and connected forms of speech,

With regard to phonology we may note the frequency with which consonants are doubled, while the preceding vowel is often long or half long; thus, *ēkha*, 'one'; *khōggā*, 'house'. Other phonetic features are of less significance.

The inflexional system is mainly the same as in Pañjābī-Sãsī. We may note the frequent *ā*-termination of the oblique form of masculine bases ending in *-ī* or a consonant, and of feminines, an important point of agreement with Sãsī; compare *khetā-mē*, 'in the field'. In Akola we find the Gujarātī termination *-ō* in forms such as *bāpō*, 'fathers', *khōggō-mē-sī*, 'from-in the house'.

The case terminations are broadly the same as in Hindōstānī, viz., agentive *-nē*; dative, *-ku*, *-kō*; ablative *-sē*, *-sī*; genitive *-kā*, *-kē*, *kiā̃*, locative *-mē*.

With regard to pronouns we may note *hũ̃*, 'I'; *ham*, 'we', in Akola. In Buldana, Ellichpur and Chanda, we find *mē*, *mī*, 'I'; compare Marāṭhī.

The conjugation of verbs is mainly the same as in Pañjābī and Sãsī. [LSI pp. 71-73]

Like the Criminal Sãsī the Kōlhāṭīs also use an artificial language for disguising the words of their language. There are in first place some peculiar words such as *kajjī*, 'woman'; *khōggā*, 'house'; *ṭummī*, 'head'. Common words are disguised in various ways, as in other argots.

A consonant is often prefixed or substituted for the initial. Gutturals are used in this way in words such as *kajēṭa=bēṭa*,

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'child' ; *khūṭ=ūṭh*, 'camel'. A palatal is often used as a substitute for a labial. Thus, *chaḍa=baḍa*, 'big', *n* is common substitute ; *nān=chãd*, 'moon' ; *nāt=jāt*, 'caste'. Sometimes words are also disguised by means of additions at the end. Thus, *gh* has been added in *gōghā*, 'went' ; a palatal has been suffixed in *bānchī*, 'sister' ; *tā* in *bāpta*, 'a father' ; *r* in *dhōr*, 'two', and so on.

[LSI p. 76]

## GĀRŌḌĪ

315 The Gārōḍīs are a wandering tribe of jugglers in the Belgaum district. Their head-quarters are said to be at Miraj near Kolhapur. Their dialect is based on a mixture of Hindōstānī, Rājasthānī and Marāṭhī. Thus, the nominative of strong masculine bases ends in *-ō* in the singular as in Rājasthānī and Gujarātī, though we also find *rāmnā*, 'goat', as in Hindōstānī ; The plural and the oblique bases end in *-ē* as in Hindōstānī ; compare *lāwḍe* (but also *lāwḍō*) 'sons' ; *bhāwutē-kū*, 'to a father'. The genitive ends in *-kō* as in Rājasthānī. In the periphrastic present we find *lugū hũ*, 'I am dying', as in Mēwātī, Mālwī, and Mēwāṛī. The past tense of the verb substantive is *chhō* as in Jaipurī. Marāṭhī forms are *mī*, 'I' ; *lāwḍē*, 'a child' ; the common emphatic *ch*, and so on.

Like other Gipsy tribes the Gārōḍīs try to make their speech unintelligible by using strange words or else by disguising ordinary words in various ways. Some of the unusual words are *alḍī*, 'whip' ; *bōngā*, 'gold' ; *dhaytī*, 'property' ; *kajā*, 'man'.

Ordinary words are sometimes disguised by means of a simple transposition of the sounds ; thus, *ḍabō*, 'big'. In many cases a consonant has been prefixed or substituted for the initial of a word ; thus, *kh* in *khadmī*, 'a man' ; *khūpar*, 'above'. *ch*, *j*, *dzh* are used instead of *b* in some words, such as *chulāwu*, 'to call' ; *jilaṭī*, 'a cat'. Consonants are also added at the end of words. Thus, *ch* in *kanēchī*, 'eye' ; *ṭ* in *ghōrṭō*, 'horse'.

[LSI pp. 82-83]

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## KANJARĪ

316 Kanjarī is spoken by a people called 'Kanjar', subsisting on hunting or making mats of Sirkī reed. ropes, brushes for cleaning cotton yarn, collection and sale of the roots of khaskhas grass etc. The Kanjars largely adopt the language of their neighbours. Some of them also make use of an argot as is the case in most of the other Gipsy dialects. It is spoken in the districts of Aligarh, Farrukhabad, Etawah. Sitapur and Kheri in U. P. and Belgaum district of Bombay Presidency by some of the members of this tribe. As the language spoken by these people in the above district agrees in so many particulars that it can with justification be said that they speak a separate dialect, which is, however, not a clearly defined form of speech, but a mixture of various languages, which seems to be old and to have acquired a certain degree of constancy.

The inflexion of nouns in many respects differs from Hindōstānī. The oblique base of weak nouns sometimes ends in *-ā* ; thus, *garā-sē*, 'to the neck' (Aligarh). Similarly the oblique plural ends in *-ā* or *-ã̄* ; thus, *raṛsã̄-sē*, 'years from' (Sitapur). Such forms agree with Marāṭhī, the singular ones also with Bihārī and the plural ones with Rājasthānī. An *-ō* is often added to weak bases and kept in the oblique form ; thus, *bihā̃rō-mē*, 'in the property'. Ordinary Hindōstānī forms are used as well.

The case suffixes are mainly Hindōstānī. The dative suffix *-ku*, *-kū*, *-kō* also reminds us of Dravidian.

In many instances we find that the final *ō* of adjectives is often kept before an inflected noun ; thus, *ōchhō baṭrā-nē*, 'by the younger son' (Etawah).

The pronominal forms *urō-nē*, 'by him' ; *īgal*, 'this matter' : *ūr*, *birō*, 'he' ; *vō*, 'thou', and similar forms remind us of the Dravidian ; compare Tuḷu. *īr*, Kui and Old Telugu, *īrū*, 'you' ; Gōṇḍī, *ōr*, 'he', etc.

The conjugation of verbs presents some peculiar features. There are several additions to the base which do not appear to modify the meaning. Thus, *r*, *waḍ*, *wār* or *bār* are added ; *lugai-r-ō*,

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'he beats' ; *baṭ-wār*, 'dividing'. Broadly speaking the conjugation of verbs is the same as in Rājasthānī. In the past tense, however, the termination is *-ō* and not *-yō* ; thus, *karō*, 'did'. The *s* which occurs in several forms such as *dīs*, 'gave' ; *lakhāis*, 'said, belongs to Eastern Hindī. In future we find *s* forms in Aligarh and Sitapur and *g* forms in Farrukhabad and Belgaum. Cf. *kahsũ*, 'I will say' (Aligarh) ; *jāwãga*, 'I shall go' (Farrukhabad).

Kanjarī seems to possess a participle the characteristic element of which is *d*. Thus, *tīldō* 'giving' ; *maddō*, 'dying'. Such forms are used as present and also as past participles. They are also contained in verbal forms. Thus, *lugdaũ*, 'I die' ; *aughadō*, 'he is coming' ; *āndū*, 'I come' ; *handō*, 'was'. This *-d* appears to be connected with *-ḍ* suffix of indefinite present participle in Dravidian languages. One of the forms of the corresponding suffix of the past participle in Tamil is *-ndu*.

Kanjarī contains some peculiar words of the same kind as are found in similar forms of speech. Such as *lug*, 'die' ; *jhũkil*, 'dog'; *kãjarō*, 'man' ; *nimānī*, 'water'. Some of the words have a Dravidian look.

Like other tribes of the same kind the Kanjars use certain devices for disguising their words and making them unintelligible. The beginning and end of words is often changed. *K*, *kh*, *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *ḍ*, *r* and *l* and some other sounds are prefixed in some words ; thus, *kō* in *kōhāth*, 'hand' ; *ṭakhnī*, 'eye' ; *rahnaō*, 'put on' ; *lakhārs*, 'said'. The common suffixes used at the end are *r*, *gor*, *gh*, *eṭō* or *ēṭhō* and *ēlō* ; thus, *aogh*, 'come' ; *papēṭō*, 'sin' ; *malēṭhō*, 'sin' ; *dubēlū*, 'two'. [LSI pp. 96-102]

## ḌŌM

317 The Ḍōms or Domṛās are a menial caste and are numerous in Assam, Bengal, the United Provinces and Kashmir. They do not possess a dialect of their own, but use the speech of their neighbours. However, in the districts of Saran and Champaran, a speech called Ḍōmṛā used by them, is an argot based on the current Bhojpurī of the districts, with a tissue of Rājasthānī and Hindōstānī. To the latter belong forms such as the case suffixes,

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dative *-kō*, genitive *-kā*, *-kī*, *-kē* ; strong verbal forms such as *kihnas-nā*, 'to say' ; *kahā*, 'said' ; *logā*, 'began', etc. Cf. Rājasthānī reminiscences we may note the termination *-ā* in the oblique singular and in the plural of strong masculine bases ; thus, *kājwā-kē du chēṭā*, 'two sons of a man'. Most verbal forms and generally speaking, the whole grammatical system, however, are Bhojpurī.

As in the case of other similar argots there is a certain number of peculiar words. Such are ; *bauṛā*, 'boy' ; *ṭēpar*, cloth ; *tawā*, 'went', and so forth. Commonly, however, ordinary Aryan words are used but disguised by means of various changes and additions. Occasionally we find transposition of sounds, as in *ḍhanarphul=karanphul*, 'ear drop'. More commonly we see that a consonant is prefixed or substituted for the begining of a word. Thus, *kōg=āg*, 'fire', *khakāl=kāl*, 'famine' ; *chēṭā=bēṭā*, 'son' ; *nutā=jutā*, 'shoe' ; *rōpī=ṭōpī*, 'hat'.

The argot shows a marked predilection for changing the words by means of additions after them. The numerals two and following add an *-ēm* and we got *dulēm*, 'two' ; *satēm*, 'seven'. A common addition is also *-tu* ; thus, *gōrtu*, 'food'.

Many different additions are made to verbal bases, and the conjugation of verbs therefore has a puzzling appearance. If we abstract from stray forms such as *khasuaītā=ātā*, 'comes' ; *dēgh-luarsē=diyā*, 'gave', the most characteristic addition is *-u*. This *-u* can be added alone ; thus, *kih-u-ātē*, 'I will say' ; *kar-u-lī*, 'I did'. In some cases it is preceded by an *s* ; thus, *di-su*, 'gave'. A very common addition is *-uar* ; thus, *char-uar-ē*, 'to graze'. There are probably numerous other devices by which the words are disguised. [LSI pp. 143-146]

## QAṢĀĪ

**318** Qaṣāī or Qaṣāb is the name of the butcher caste. The word is derived from Arabic *qaṣab*, 'to cut'. The Qaṣāīs have been reported to speak separate forms of speech in Karnal and Belgaum districts, which agree in so many points that the two can safely be described as one and the same form of speech, which is an argot based on Hindōstānī.

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The peculiar appearance of the Qaṣāī argot is, to a great extent, due to the extensive use of strange words. As in Kanjarī dialect of Belgaum many of the numerals are Arabic such *k̲hammas*, 'five', Arabic *k̲hams*.

Numerous other peculiar words occur, such as *aḍal*, 'put'; *baṭlā*, 'rupee'; *gaunā*, 'to get'; *hiḍap*, 'take'; *kajilī*, 'afternoon'; *khunsā*, 'starving'; *nakatī*, 'sin'; *nīrgā*, 'water'; *ṭuluk*, 'sleep', and so forth.

In comparison with this extensive use of peculiar words, the disguising words, the disguising of common ones by means of additions in front or at the end plays a much smaller rôle in Qaṣāī.

Among the prefixed elements we may note *k* in *kandhū*, 'a Hindu'; *jh* in *jhoṛā=thoṛā*; *m* in *māḍ*, 'a village'; *l* in *lipṛā*, 'cloth', Cf. Hindōstānī *kapṛā*. Of the final additions *-k* is in *bulkā*; *-ṭ* in *hatōṭā*, 'hand'; *ṇ* in *akoṇya*, 'eye'; *l* in *bandal*; *wāḍ* in *baṭwāḍ*, 'sit'. [LSI pp. 156-158]



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## 319 LIST OF SELECT STANDARD WORDS AND SENTENCES

| *English* | *Ōḍkī* (Cutch) | *Sāsī* (ordinary) | *Kōlhaṭī* (Akola) |
|---|---|---|---|
| one | ēk | ēk | bēk |
| two | ḍōn | dō | dhōr |
| three | tīn | tīn | thēr |
| four | chār | chār | nyā̃r |
| hand | hāth | háth | hōtta, kōhōt |
| foot | pag | pair | pā̃w, gōnā |
| head | ṭhōr | sir | ṭummī |
| a father | bā | bápp | bāptā |
| of a father | bā-chā | bappā-gā (-gē, -gī, -gīā̃) | bāptē-kā |
| to a father | bā-nē̃ | bappā-gũ | bāptē-ku |
| two fathers | ḍōn bā | dō bápp | dhōr bāptē |
| I am | hē̃ sē̃ | haũ haĩ | hũ hē |
| thou art | tũ̃ sī | taũ haĩ | tū hē |
| he is | sū sē | uh hai | ō hē |
| we are | amĩ sũ̃ | ham hã̃ | ham hē |
| you are | tamĩ sawā | tam hō | tam hē |
| they are | sũ̃ sī | uh haĩ | vē hē |
| I was | hē̃ silā | haũ thīyyā (or siyyā, etc.) | hũ thiyā |
| thou wast | tũ̃ silā | taũ thīyyā | tū thīyā |
| he was | sũ̃ silā | uh thīyyā | ō thīyā |
| we were | amĩ̃ silē̃ | ham thīyyē | ham thīyē |
| you were | tamĩ̃ silē̃ | tam thīyyē | tam thīyē |
| they were | sũ̃ silē̃ | uh thīyyē | vē thīyē |
| I shall be | hē̃ havĩ̃, hē̃ havĩ̃nō | haũ hoṅgṛā | hũ hōṅgḍā |

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IN THE GIPSY LANGUAGES

| *Kanjarī* (Sitapur) | *Kanjarī* (Belgaum) | *Qaṣai* |
|---|---|---|
| bēk, khakēla | ekkaṇ | ekkaṇ |
| dubēlu | janḍ | janḍ |
| tibēlu | dhallā | dhallā |
| chabēlu | arabā | arbā |
| kōhat | hattēṭo | hatōṭā |
| guṛārā, gurārā | guṇḍāle | guḍāle |
| muṛ-hēlā | śirō | śīr |
| bap-hēlō | ekkaṇ bāpō | ekkaṇ bābā |
| bap-hēlā-kā | ekkaṇ bāpō-ku | ekkaṇ bābā-kā |
| bap-hēlā-kū̃ | ekkaṇ bāpō-ku | ekkaṇ-bābā-kū |
| dubēlu bap-hēlā | janḍ bāpaū | janḍ babā |
| maĩ hughū̃ | maĩ hē | maĩ thārtaū |
| taĩ hughē | yō hē | tū thārtaū |
| wō haughē | ē hē | une thārtaū |
| ham haughē, maĩ hughū̃ | hamē hē | ham thārte |
| taĩ hughē | tumē hē | tume thārte |
| wō haughē | ō hē | uno thārte |
| maĩ hū̃dō | maĩ handō | maĩ thārtā-thā |
| taĩ hū̃dō | yō handō | tū thārtā-thā |
| wō hū̃dō | ē handō | une thārtā-thā |
| — | hamē handā | ham thārtā-the |
| — | tumē handā | tume thārtā-the |
| — | ō handā | uno thārtā-the |
| maĩ hū̃ghasō | maĩ hōwuṅgō | maĩ thakuṅgā |

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| *English* | *Ōḍkī* (Cutch) | *Sāsī* (ordinary) | *Kolhaṭī* (Akola) |
|---|---|---|---|
| I beat | hẽ mārẽ sẽ | haŭ mārtā-haĩ | hũ mārtā |
| thou beatest | tũ mārī sī | taŭ mārtā haĩ | tũ mārtā |
| he beats | sũ mārē sē | uh mārtā hai | ō mārtā |
| we beat | amī mārā̃ sũ | ham mārtē hã̃ | ham mārtē |
| you beat | tamī mārā sawā | tam mārtē hō | tam mārtē |
| they beat | su mārī sī | uh mārtē haĩ | vē mārtē |
| I beat (past) | mẽ mārlā | maĩ māriā | mē-nē māryā |
| thou beatest (past) | tẽ mārlā | taĩ māriā | tē-nē māryā |
| he beat (past) | tēṇẽ mārlā | uṇ mārīā | un-nē māryā |
| we beat (past) | amī mārlā | hamõ māriā | ham-nē māryā |
| you beat (past) | tamī mārlā | tamõ māriā | tum-nē māryā |
| they beat (past) | taĩyẽ mārlā | uṇī uṇõ māriā | unh-nē māryā |
| I shall beat | hẽ mārī | haŭ māraṅgṛā | hũ māraṅg |

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| *Kanjari* (Sitapur) | *Kanjari* (Belgaum) | *Qaṣai* |
|---|---|---|
| maĩ lugairō | maĩ kuṭwārō | maĩ ghāḍtaũ |
| taĩ lugairō | yo kuṭwārō | tũ ghaḍtaũ |
| wō lugairō | ē kuṭwārō | une ghāḍtaũ |
| — | hamē kuṭwārē | ham ghāḍte |
| — | tumē kuṭwārē | tume ghāḍte |
| — | ō kuṭwārē | uno ghāḍte |
| maĩ lugaõdō | maĩ kuṭrō | maĩ ghāḍyā |
| taĩ lugaoghis | yo kuṭrō | tũ ghāḍyā |
| wō lugaoghis, lugais | ē kuṭrō | uṇe ghāḍyā |
| — | hamē kuṭrā | ham ghāḍyā |
| — | tumō kuṭrā | tume ghāḍyā |
| — | ō kuṭrā | uno ghāḍyā |
| maĩ lugaosũ, maĩ lugaoghasĩ | maĩ kuṭuṅgō | maĩ ghāḍhuṅgā |

[LSI pp. 178-213]

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